

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE

Causes of the Alienation

OF THE

Delaware and Shawanese Indians

FROM THE

BRITISH INTEREST,

And into the Measures taken for recovering their
FRIENDSHIP.

Extracted from the PUBLIC TREATIES, and other Authentic Papers relating to the Transactions of the Government of *Pensylvania* and the said *Indians*, for near Forty Years; and explained by a MAP of the Country.

Together with the remarkable JOURNAL of *Christian Frederic Post*, by whose Negotiations, among the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, they were withdrawn from the Interest of the *French*, who thereupon abandoned the Fort and Country.

With Notes by the EDITOR explaining sundry *Indian* Customs, &c.

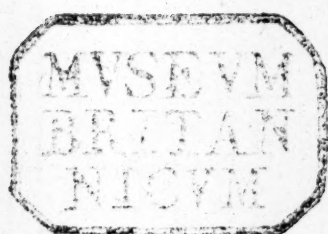
Written in *Pensylvania*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WILKIE, at the Bible, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLIX.

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T H E

INTRODUCTION.

IT has been to many a Cause of Wonder, how it comes to pass that the *English* have so few *Indians* in their Interest, while the *French* have so many at Command; and by what Means and for what Reasons those neighbouring Tribes in particular, who, at the first Arrival of the *English* in *Pennsylvania*, and for a long Series of Years afterwards, shewed every Mark of Affection and Kindness, should become our most bitter Enemies, and treat those whom they had so often declared they looked upon as their Brethren, nay as their own Flesh and Blood, with such barbarous Cruelties.

By some they are looked on as faithless and perfidious; while others, considering their former Friendship, the many Services they have done the *English*, and the steady

Attachment they have shewed to our Interest during several Wars with *France*, imagine there must be some Cause for this Change in their Behaviour. The *Indians* themselves, when called upon in a public Treaty, to explain the Motives of their Conduct, declare that the Sollicitations of the *French*, joined with the Abuses they have suffered from the *English*, particularly in being cheated and defrauded of their Land, have at length induced them to become our Enemies and to make War upon us.

That the *French* had been active to draw off the *Indians*, and engage them in their Interest, was not doubted: But as to the Complaints they made of Abuses received from the *English*, and of their being wronged of their Lands, much Pains have been taken to represent them as groundless, and only lame Excuses for their late Perfidiousness. Nay some have gone so far as to say, that these Complaints are the Effects of the unhappy Divisions that prevailed in this Government.

In order therefore to clear up these Points, and to examine into the Foundation and Truth of these Complaints, Recourse has been had to as many of the Treaties and Conferences held between the

Indians and this Government, for above thirty Years past, as could be procured.

It is a Matter of no small Consequence to know the Grounds of the Complaints made by the *Indians*, that, in Case they are false, Justice may be done to the Characters of those who are injured thereby; and, if true, that proper Remedies may be applied, and that the Crown of *Great Britain* may not, by the Avarice and Wickedness of a few, be deprived of the Friendship and Alliance of those Nations who are capable of being our most useful Friends, or most dangerous Enemies.

It could have been wished, for the Sake of Truth, that Access had been allowed to the Minutes of Council, which are the only public Record kept of the Transactions between the Government of *Pensylvania* and the *Indians*; or that the Minutes of several Conferences with the *Indians* had been duly taken, and regularly published; or that all the Deeds granted by the *Indians* had been recorded in the Rolls-Office, as they ought to have been: Had these been done, the Matter might have been set in a fuller and clearer Light. However, by perusing the following Extracts, taken from such Treaties as could be met

with, from the Votes of the Assembly, from such Deeds as have been recorded, and from other authentic Papers and Letters, it will be clearly seen whether the Complaints of the *Indians* are only invented to palliate their late Conduct; whether they are the Effects of Party; or whether their Pretensions are reasonable, and their Demands consistent with Justice.

A N

ENQUIRY, &c.

GOVERNOR *Keith* having, in 1722, received Advice that some Persons under Pretence of searching for Copper Mines, intended to take up Lands, by Virtue of *Maryland* Rights on the West Side of the River *Susquehannab* above *Conestogo*, issued a Proclamation to prevent them. Soon after, having Advice that some Persons were actually gone from *Maryland* to survey the Land, he went thither himself with the Surveyor-General of the Province, and arriving first, ordered the Surveyor-General, by Virtue of Proprietary Rights which he had before purchased, to survey for him five hundred and thirty Acres of Land upon that Spot, which he perceived was like to prove a Bone of Contention and the Occasion of Mischief. Upon his Return being informed that the young Men of *Conestogo* were going out to War, he thought it necessary to hold a Conference with those *Indians*; and accordingly going to their Town, called a Meeting of the Chiefs of the *Mingoes*, the *Shawanese*, and the *Ganaway* (*Coney*) *Indians*, at which he reminded them of the Friendship that subsisted between them and this Government, of

Introduction to Treaty, 1722.

the 1722.

the Favours he had done them, how he had gone to *Virginia* to serve them, and at their Request removed one *John Grist* from a Settlement he had made beyond the *Susquehannah*, and had strictly forbidden any Person whatever from taking up Lands or settling there without his Leave, &c. In the Close of his Speech he informs them of the News he had heard of their going to War, and absolutely forbids them to go.

Hereupon the *Indians* called a Council, and having agreed upon an Answer, met the Governor next Day : And *Civility* their Chief having, in the Name of the *Indians*, thanked the Governor for the Pains he had taken to serve them, and expressed the Confidence they had in the Government, declares, that tho' their Warriors were intended against the *Catawbas*, yet as the Governor disapproved of their going they should be immediately stopped, after which he proceeds to say, " That when the Proprietor, *William Penn*, came into this Country Forty Years ago, he got some Person at *New York* to purchase the Lands on *Susquehannah* from the Five Nations, who pretended a Right to them, having conquered the People formerly settled there ; that when *William Penn* came from *New York* he sent for them to hold a Council with him at *Philadelphia*, and shewed them a Parchment, which he told them was a Right to those Lands, that he had purchased them from the Five Nations, for which he had sent a great many Goods in a Vessel to *New York* ; that when the *Conestogoes* understood he had bought their Land, they were sorry ; upon which *William Penn* took the Parchment and laid it upon the Ground, saying to them, that it should be in common amongst them, viz. the *English* and the *Indians* ; that when *William Penn* had after that Manner given them the same Priviledge

viledge to the Land as his own People, he told them he would not do as the *Marylanders* did, by calling them Children or Brothers only; for often Parents would be apt to whip their Children too severely, and Brothers sometimes would differ; neither would he compare the Friendship between him and the *Susquebannab Indians* to a Chain, for the Rain might sometimes rust it, or a Tree fall and break it; but he said the *Indians* should be esteemed by him and his People as the same Flesh and Blood with the Christians, and the same as if one Man's Body was to be divided in two Parts. After they had made so firm a League with *William Penn*, he gave them that Parchment, (here *Civility* held a Parchment in his Hand) and told them to preserve it carefully for three Generations, that their Children might see and know what then passed in Council, as if he remained himself with them to repeat it, but that the fourth Generation would both forget him and it."

Civility presented to the Governor the Parchment in his Hand to read; it contained Articles of Friendship and Agreement made between the Proprietary and them, and confirmed the Sale of Lands made by the Five Nations to the Proprietary *.

* *Query.* By what *Civility* says, would it not appear that the *Indians* were not made fully acquainted with the Nature of that Parchment, for after what is said of their being sorry that the Proprietor had bought their Lands, can it be imagined that they intended by it to give up their Right to that Land, or to confirm to the Proprietary the Purchase made of the Five Nations, without reserving to themselves a Right to those Lands in common with the *English*, agreeable to what they imagined was promised to them? But it may be noted, all we know of the Contents of the Writing is from this Account given by the Proprietary Agents.

The

The Governor's Answer to this is as follows :

“ I am very glad to find that you remember so perfectly the wise and kind Expressions of the great and good *William Penn* towards you ; and I know that the Purchase which he made of the Lands on both Sides *Susquebannah*, is exactly true as you tell it, only I have heard farther, that when he was so good to tell your People that notwithstanding that Purchase the Lands should still be in common between his People and them, you answered, that a very little Land would serve you, and thereupon you fully confirmed his Right by your own Consent and good Will, as the Parchment you shewed me fully declares.”

On the second Day of the Conference the Governor bade *Civility* ask all the *Indians* present, if they were well pleased to understand that the Governor had taken up a small Tract of Land so near them on the other Side of *Susquebannah*.

They answered, That they liked it very well, and said it was good Luck to them that there was any Thing to be found there which could invite the Governor to make a Settlement amongst them ; but they desired to know whether the Governor's settling there would not occasion the immediate Settlement of all that Side of the River, and if that was the Governor's Intention.

To which the Governor answered, “ It was not the Intention of the Government as yet, to suffer that Side of the River to be settled, being they could have no Magistrates or great Men there to keep the People in Peace and good Order ; and that the Governor had only taken up that Land himself at this Time to prevent others from doing it without his Knowledge, and contrary to his Orders ; and that he might be nearer

to them himself, in order to save and protect them from being disturbed by any Persons whatsoever."

At this Treaty the *Indians* complain of the Damage they receive by strong Liquor being brought among them; they say, " The *Indians* " could live contentedly and grow rich, if it " were not for the Quantities of Rum that is " suffered to come amongst them, contrary to " what *William Penn* promised them."

In answer to this the Governor, after letting them know how much he is pleased with the Satisfaction they express at his making a small Settlement near them, " Assures them that he will be at some Pains to make it useful and convenient to them, by endeavouring to hinder his People from bringing such Quantities of Rum to sell among the *Indians*."

In the Treaty held at *Philadelphia* July 1727, between Governor *Gordon* and the Deputies of the Five Nations, the *Indians* Speaker, *Tanne-wahannegah*, informs the Governor, " That the Chiefs of all the Five Nations being met in Council, and understanding that the Governor of this Province had divers Times sent for them to come hither, had therefore sent him and those present with him, to know the Governor's Pleasure." After this he proceeds to say, " That the first Governor of this Place, *Onas*, (*i. e.* Governor *Penn*) when he first arrived here, sent to them to desire them to sell Land to him, that they answered they would not sell it then, but they might do it in Time to come; that being several Times sent for, they were now come to hear what the Governor had to offer, that when the Governor was at *Albany* he had spoke to them to this Purpose; Well, my Brethren, you have gained the Victory, you have overcome these

these People, and their Lands are yours, we shall buy them of you. How many Commanders are there amongst you?" And being told they were forty, he said, " Then if you will come down to me I will give each of these Commanders a Suit of Cloaths such as I wear." He farther takes Notice, " That a former Governor meeting some of the Warriors of the Five Nations at *Conestogo*, desired them to speak to their Chiefs about the Purchase of the Land at *Tsanandowa*; that having no Wampum to send by them as a Token of the Message, he gave the Warriors a Cask of Powder with some Shot, a Piece of red Strowds and some Duffels; that the Warriors delivered their Message to the Chiefs, who have now sent to let the Governor know they are willing to proceed to a Sale."

In answer to this the Governor tells them, " That he is glad to see them, that he takes their Visit very kindly at this Time, but that they were misinformed when they supposed the Governor had sent for them; that Governor *Penn* had, by Means of Colonel *Dungan*, already bought of the Five Nations the Lands on *Susquebannah*; that the Chiefs of the Five Nations about five Years ago, when Sir *William Keith* was at *Albany*, had of themselves confirmed the former Grant, and absolutely released all Pretensions to these Lands; that the Present which a former Governor made to some *Indian* Warriors at *Conestogo*, was not with a View to purchase the Lands at *Tsanandowa*; that he was obliged to them for their Offer to sell these Lands if they were not yet purchased; but that he cannot treat about them at present; that *William Penn's* Son, who was born in this Country, is expected over here; who, when he comes, may treat with them

if he thinks it proper; that, in the mean Time, as these Lands lie next to the *English* Settlements, tho' at a great Distance, he shall take this Offer as Proof of their Resolution to keep them for him."

After this the *Indians*, desiring a farther Conference with the Governor, inform him, " That there come many Sorts of Traders among them, both *Indians* and *English*, who all cheat them, and, tho' they get their Skins, they give them very little in Pay: They have so little for them they cannot live, and can scarce procure Powder and Shot to hunt with and get more. These Traders bring little of these, but instead of them they bring Rum, which they sell very dear." They farther take Notice, " That both the *French* and the *English* are raising Fortifications in their Country, and in their Neighbourhood, and that great Numbers of People are sent thither, the Meaning of which they do not very well conceive, but they fear some ill Consequence from it. They desire that no Settlements may be made up *Susquebannah* higher than *Paxton*; that none of the Settlers thereabouts be suffered to keep or sell any Rum there; for that being the Road by which their People go out to War, they are apprehensive of Mischief, if they meet with Liquor in these Parts, for the same Reasons they desire that none of the Traders be allowed to carry any Rum to the *Ohio*: And this they desire may be taken Notice of as the Mind of the Chiefs of the Five Nations."

To this the Governor answered, that, "as to Trade, they know it is the Method of all that follow it to buy as cheap, and sell as dear, as they can,

can, and every Man must make the best Bargain he can; the *Indians* cheat the *Indians*, and the *English* cheat the *English*, and every Man must be on his Guard; that as to Rum several Laws had been made to prevent its being carried among them, that they might break the Casks and destroy all the Rum that was brought to them; that hitherto no Settlements had been allowed to be made above *Paxton*, but as young People grow up they will spread of Course, tho' that will not be very speedily; that as to the Fortifications, the *English* being their Friends, they had nothing to fear from any they made, and as to those made by the *French*, they were so remote he knew nothing of them."

Minutes
of Coun-
cil deli-
vered to
the Assem-
bly.

Upon Information being made to the Governor, in *April* 1728, by one *Letort* an *Indian* Trader, that *Manawkybichon*, a *Delaware* Chief, to revenge the Death of *Wequeala* * (or *Weektwelley*) who had been hanged in the *Ferseys* the Year before, was endeavouring to engage the *Miamis*, or *Tweektwees*, to make War on the *English*, and that the Five Nations had joined with him, it was thought adviseable to enquire farther into this Matter. In the mean Time, it was judged proper, that the Governor should take some Notice of the *Indians* on *Susquehanna* and *Delaware*, these People generally thinking themselves slighted, as no Treaty had been held with them for some Time.

Treaty of
Coneflogo
1728.

In Consequence of this, the Governor, as soon as he received Advice that Captain *Civility*, Chief of the *Coneflogo* *Indians*, was returned with his

* This *Weektwelley* is the same referred to in the *Lancaster* Treaty in *May* 1757, whose Death is assigned by the Deputies of the Five Nations as one of the Causes of the present Difference between the *Delawares* and *English*.

People from Hunting, dispatched an Express to acquaint those *Indians*, that he would meet them about the 23d of *May* at *Conestogo*, where he desired that the Chiefs of all the *Indians* might be present, and that Captain *Civility* would dispatch Messengers to *Sassoonan*, *Opekasset* and *Manawkybickon*, Chiefs of the *Delawares*, who live up the River *Susquehannab*, to be there. At the Time appointed the Governor went and met the Chiefs of the *Conestogoes*, the *Delaware Indians*, on *Brandy-Wine*, the *Canawese*, and the *Shawanese Indians*. At this Conference the Governor put them in Mind of the League of Friendship which had long subsisted between them and this Government, and refreshes their Memory by repeating the principal Heads of it. After this he informs them, that he heard the *Tweektwees* were coming as Enemies against this Country, which he thought must be false as he had never hurt the *Tweektwees*: He next acquaints them of a late Skirmish between eleven foreign *Indians* and about twenty of his People, at a Place called *Mahanatawny*; that, upon receiving the News, he immediately repaired to the Place, but found the *Indians* gone; that, upon his Return, he was informed of two or three furious Men having killed three friendly *Indians*, and hurt two Girls, which grieved him much; that thereupon he had the Murderers apprehended and put in Prison, and that they should be tried and punished as if they had killed white People. He likewise lets them know that, about eight Months ago, an *English* Man was killed by some *Indians* at the House of *John Burt* in *Snake-Town*, and desires they would apprehend the Murderers and bring them to Justice.

The

The *Indians*, in their Answer, let the Governor know, they are well satisfied with what he had said, and assure him that what had happened at *John Burt's* House was not done by them, but by one of the *Minysinks* *, another Nation, for which Reason they can say nothing to it.

Treaty at
Philadelphia
1728.

As the Messages which *Civility* sent to the *Delaware* Chiefs, who lived on *Susquehannab*, did not reach them soon enough for them to attend the Treaty at *Conestogo*, the Governor desired them to meet him at *Philadelphia*. † Accordingly, a few Days after, *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delawares*, with *Opekasset*, and a few more of his principal Men, came to *Philadelphia*, where the Governor gave them a hearty Welcome, renewed the Treaties of Friendship which *Mr. Penn* had made with them; acquainted them of the Skirmish that had happened betwixt his People and a Party of *Shawanese*, who came armed and painted for War, and were taken for strange *Indians*; informed them of the unhappy Accident that had followed, and of his causing the Murderers to be apprehended and put in Gaol to be tried and punished as if they had killed one of his Majesty's Subjects; and, lastly, he condoled with the Friends of the Murdered, and comforted them after the *Indian* Manner.

In answer to this, *Sassoonan* thanks the Governor for the Speech he had made, declares himself well pleased with what the Governor said in Relation to the Accident that had happened to the *Indians*, and desired that no Misunderstanding

* Here it appears the *Minysinks* were declared to be a Nation over whom they had no Authority.

† Tho' a Message was sent to *Manawkybithan*, as well as to these, yet he did not come, being at that Time full of Resentment for the Death of his Kinsman.

might

might arise on that Account, and concluded with saying, that, in two Months, he designed to return and speak more fully.

But, being told, that if he had any Thing at all upon his Mind, it was now a proper Time to speak it, that it might be heard by all that Company, addressing himself to Mr. *James Logan*,* he proceeded to say, “ That he was grown old, and “ was troubled to see the Christians settle on “ Lands that the *Indians* had never been paid “ for; they had settled on his Lands, for which “ he had never received any Thing; that he is “ now an old Man, and must soon die; that “ his Children may wonder to see all their Father’s Lands gone from them without his receiving any Thing for them; that the Christians now make their Settlements very near them, and they shall have no Place of their own left to live on; that this may occasion a Difference between their Children and us hereafter; and he would willingly prevent any Misunderstanding that may happen.”

As this Speech was addressed to Mr. *Logan*, he, with the Leave of the Governor, answered, “ That he was no otherwise concerned in the “ Lands of this Province than as he was entrusted, with other Commissioners, by the “ Proprietor to manage his Affairs of Property in his Absence; that *William Penn* had made it a Rule never to suffer any Lands to be settled by his People, till they were first purchased of the *Indians*; that his Commissioners had followed the same Rule, and how little Reason there was for any Complaint against

* Mr. *Logan* was the Secretary and the Proprietaries principal Agent or Commissioner for Land Affairs during near forty Years.

“ him, or the Commissioners, he would now
“ make appear.”

He said, “ That *Sassoonan*, who is now present, with divers others of the *Indian* Chiefs, about ten Years since, having a Notion that they had not been fully paid for their Lands, came to *Philadelphia* to demand what was due to them ; that the Business was heard in Council, and he then produced to those *Indians* a great Number of Deeds, by which their Ancestors had fully conveyed, and were as fully paid for all their Lands from *Duck Creek* to near the Forks of *Delaware*, and that the *Indians* were then entirely satisfied with what had been shewn to them ; and the Commissioners, to put an End to all further Claims or Demands of that Kind, in Consideration of their Journey and Trouble, made them a Present in the Proprietor’s Name and Behalf, upon which they agreed to sign an absolute Release for all those Lands, and of all Demands whatsoever upon Account of the said Purchase :” And exhibiting the said Instrument of Release, he desired it might be read, which was done in these Words ;

“ We *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delaware Indians*, and *Pokebais*, *Metasbichay*, *Aiyamaikan*, *Pepawmaman*, *Ghettypenceman* and *Opekasset*, Chiefs of the said *Indians*, do acknowledge that we have seen and heard divers Deeds of Sale read unto us, under the Hands and Seals of the former Kings and Chiefs of the *Delaware Indians*, our Ancestors and Predecessors, who were Owners of Lands between *Delaware* and *Susquehannab* Rivers ; by which Deeds they have granted and conveyed unto *William Penn*, Proprietor and Governor in Chief of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and to
8 “ his

" his Heirs and Assigns, all and singular the'r
 " Lands, Islands, Woods and Waters, situate
 " between the said two Rivers of *Delaware* and
 " *Susquehannab*, and had received full Satisfac-
 " tion for the same. And we do further ac-
 " knowledge, that we are fully content and sa-
 " tisfied with the said Grant. And whereas the
 " Commissioners, or Agents of the said *Wil-*
 " *liam Penn*, have been pleased, upon our Visit
 " to this Government, to bestow on us, as a
 " free Gift, in the Name of the said *William*
 " *Penn*, these following Goods, viz. * two
 " Guns, six Strowd-water Coats, six Blankets,
 " six Duffel Match-Coats, and four Kettles, we
 " therefore, in Gratitude for the said Present, as
 " well in Consideration of the several Grants
 " made by our Ancestors and Predecessors, as
 " of the said several Goods herein before-men-
 " tioned, the Receipt whereof we do hereby ac-
 " knowledge, do, by these Presents, for us, our
 " Heirs and Successors, Grant, Remise, Re-
 " lease, and for ever quit Claim unto the said
 " *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, all the
 " said Lands situate between the said two Rivers
 " of *Delaware* and *Susquehannab*, from *Duck*
 " *Creek* to the Mountains on this Side *Lechaity*,
 " and all our Estate, Right, Title, Interest,
 " Property, Claim and Demand whatsoever, in
 " and to the same, or any Part thereof; so that
 " neither we, nor any of us, nor any Person
 " or Persons, in the Behalf of any of us, shall,
 " or may hereafter, lay any Claim to any of the
 " said Lands, or in anywise molest the said *Wil-*
 " *liam Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, or any Per-

* The Value of these Goods about ten Pounds *Sterling*,
 or one Year's Quit-Rent of 20,000 Acres of Land at the
 old Rent, of 5,000 Acres at the new.

“ son claiming by, from, or under him, them,
 “ or any of them, in the peaceable and quiet
 “ Enjoyment of the same. In Witness whereof
 “ we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, at
 “ *Philadelphia*, the seventeenth Day of *Septem-*
 “ *ber*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand
 “ seven Hundred and eighteen.

“ Sealed and deli- *Sassoonan* his Mark o
 “ vered (by all but *Pokebais* his Mark o
 “ *Pokebais* and Pe- *Metasbeechay* his Mark o
 “ *parwamaman*, who *Ayyamaikan* his Mark o
 “ were absent) in *Gbetypenceman* his Mark o
 “ the Presence of *Opekasset* his Mark o
 “ *W. Keith, Ro-* *Pepawmaman* his Mark o
 “ *bert Asbeton, Sa-*
 “ *muel Preston, Anthony Palmer, Jonathan Dick-*
 “ *inson, Indian Sam, Son to Essепенaike, Indian*
 “ *Peter, Pokebais's Nephew or Aweaykoman,*
 “ *Kachaguesconk, or Toby, his Mark, Tussoigbee-*
 “ *nan, his Mark, Neeshalappib, or Andrew, his*
 “ *Mark. Sealed and delivered by Pokebais and*
 “ *Pepawmaman in the Presence of James Logan,*
 “ *Robert Asbeton, Clement Plumsted, David E-*
 “ *vans, Nedawaraway, or Oliver, Neeshalappy, or*
 “ *Andrew.*”

This Deed *Sassoonan* and *Opekasset* both acknowledged to be true, and that they had been paid for all the Lands therein-mentioned; but *Sassoonan* said, the Lands beyond these Bounds had never been paid for; that these reached no farther than a few Miles beyond *Oley*, but that their Lands on *Tulpybockin* were seated by the Christians.

Mr. Logan answered, that he understood at the Time that Deed was drawn, and ever since, that *Lechay Hills*, or Mountains, stretched away from a little below *Lechay*, or the Forks of *Delaware*,

ware, to those Hills on *Susquehannah*, that lie about ten Miles above *Pexton*. Mr. *Farmer* said, those Hills passed from *Lechay* a few Miles above *Oley*, and reached no farther, and that *Tulpyhockin* Lands lay beyond them.

Mr. *Logan* proceeded to say, that whether those Lands of *Tulpyhockin* were within or without the Bounds mentioned in the Deed, he well knew that the *Indians*, some few Years since, were seated on them, and that he, with the other Commissioners, would never consent that any Settlement should be made on Lands, where the *Indians* were seated; that these Lands were settled wholly against their Minds, and even without their Knowledge.

After this, Mr. *Logan*, by a Petition presented to Governor *Keith* by the *Dutch* settled at *Tulpyhockin*, goes on to prove, that merely by the Authority of Governor *Keith*, "Those Foreigners (namely the *Dutch*) had been encouraged to invade these Lands (at *Tulpyhockin*) to the manifest Injury of the Proprietor, and to the great Abuse of the *Indians*, who, at that very Time, were seated there, and had their Corn destroyed by those People's Creatures." Then applying to the *Indians*, "He desired, that tho' these People had seated themselves on the *Tulpyhockin* Lands, without the Commissioners Leave or Consent, yet that they would not offer them any Violence, or injure them, but wait till such Time as that Matter could be adjusted."

As the Governor had examined *Civility* * and the *Conestogo* *Indians* about the Murder that was committed at *John Burt's*, so likewise he enquired of these whether they had not heard of that Mat-

* An *Indian* Chief so called.

ter, and whether the *Indians*, who committed the Murder, belonged to them. They said, they had heard of it, but it was not done by any of theirs, but by some of the *Minissink Indians*: The Governor then asked them where those of that Nation lived, and under what Chief. To which they answered, That the *Minissinks* lived at the Forks of *Susquebannah* above *Mechayomy*, and that their King's Name was *Kindassowa*. Thus we see that the *Minissinks* are quite a distinct Nation from the Northern *Delawares*, of which *Sassoonan* was King, and consequently no Lands of the former could be conveyed away by any Grant from the latter.

As the Boundaries between the *Indians* and the *English* are so fully ascertained in this Treaty, it was thought proper to be thus particular. Every Thing relating to Land Affairs are here so clearly stated, the Deed of Release so full and explicit, that for the future one would imagine no Doubts could arise respecting Lands; or, should any arise, they might easily be solved. By what is here said, it appears plain that the *Delaware Indians* can have no Pretensions to the Lands lying between *Susquebannah* and *Delaware*, from *Duck Creek* to the *Lechay Hills* below the Forks of *Delaware*; and that the *English*, at that Time, had no Right or Pretensions, under *Indian Titles*, to any Lands North of the said *Lechay Hills*; that all the Deeds, formerly given by the *Indians*, were carefully examined, and the Extent of the Lands therein granted was fully ascertained, and all included, in the Deed of 1718.

It may not be amiss to mention here, that the Year before, when some Persons wanted to take up Lands in the *Minissinks* (which is in the Forks of *Delaware*) Mr. *Logan* wrote to the Surveyor

veyor of *Bucks* County to prevent it ; nay, would not permit any Lands to be surveyed on the *Lechbay* Hills four Miles above *Durham*, because not purchased of the *Indians*, unless the *Indians* previously engage to part with it very reasonably. This appears from the annexed Copy of the Letter which has been compared with the Original now in being. *

In 1729, when the *Conestogoes* and *Ganaway* Treaty with the Conestogoes, &c. at Philadelphia, 1729. *Indians* came to return the Governor's Visit, and to make him a Present, the *Shawanese* did not come, having (as *Civility* said) unhappily spent all their Provisions on Rum ; for which Reason they were obliged to stay at home and provide Subsistence for their Families : However, they contributed their Part of the Present to be made, and desired that those that came, to speak in their Name.

At this Treaty *Tawenna*, an aged Counsellor, repeated the Substance of several Conferences

* Friend *Tho. Watson*, *Philadelphia*, 20. Nov. 1727.

This Morning I wrote to thee by *Jac. Taylor* concerning Warrants that may be offered thee to be laid out on the *Mission* Lands, and was then of Opinion, that the Bearer hereof, *Jos. Wheeler*, proposed to lay his there. Having since seen him, he tells me he has no such Thought, but would have it laid three or four Miles above *Durham*, on a Spot of pretty good Land there amongst the Hills, and, I think, at some Distance from the River, proposing, as he says, to live there himself with his Kinsman, who was here with him. Pray take the first Opportunity to mention it to *J. Longhorn* ; for, if he has no considerable Objection to it (that is, if he has laid no Right on it) I cannot see that we should make any other than that *it is not purchased of the Indians*, which is so material an One, that, without their previous Engagement to part with it very reasonably, it cannot be surveyed there. But of this they themselves, I mean *Jos. Wheeler*, &c. propose to take Care. This is what offers on this Head from thy loving Friend,

Ja. Logan.

'B 4

which

which Mr. *Penn* had held with the *Indians*; desired that Love and Friendship might ever continue between the *English* and *Indians*; that what Governor *Penn* had spoke to them might ever be remembered; and concludes with saying, “ That
 “ he is well pleased with all that has passed between us and them, but is apprehensive some
 “ Mischief may happen thro’ the great Quantities of Rum which are daily carried amongst
 “ the *Indians*, who, being greedy of that Liquor, are soon debauched by it, and may
 “ then easily be stirred up to some unhappy or ill
 “ Action; that *William Penn* had told them he
 “ would not suffer any large Quantity of that
 “ Liquor to be brought among them, and that
 “ they might stave the Casks, and spill it, if they
 “ found any in the Woods; but that now several Hogsheds of Rum are brought to *Conestogo*, and to several other Places in their Road,
 “ and near to them, by which Means the *Indians* are tempted not only to sell their Peltry,
 “ but likewise their Cloathing, for that Liquor, and are much impoverished thereby.”

To this *Civility* added, “ That he was very
 “ uneasy lest any Mischief should happen thro’
 “ the great Plenty of Rum daily brought
 “ amongst them; his Concern, he said, was not
 “ so much for Fear of any Accident among the
 “ *Indians* themselves, for if one *Indian* should
 “ kill another they have many Ways of making
 “ up such an Affair, but his Uneasiness proceeded from an Apprehension lest a Christian
 “ should be ill used by any *Indian* intoxicated
 “ with Liquor.”

The Governor, in his Answer, says, “ He is
 pleased to see them, and glad to find they remembered what *William Penn* had said to them;
 that as to what they complained of their suffering

ing

ing by Rum, many Laws had been made against it, but the *Indians* make all these Laws of no Effect; they will have it; they send their Women for it to all Places where it can be had; he could make no Laws against their drinking it; that they must make these themselves; that, if their Women would carry none, it would be more easy: However, I shall, says he, endeavour to prevent its being carried in such Quantities."

This was commonly the Case when the *Indians* complained; they had fair Promises made them, but no effectual Measures seem to have been taken to redress the Grievance.

In 1731, the Governor having received Advice that the *Shawanese* had been once or twice at *Montreal* to visit the *French* Governor, was apprehensive that the *French* were endeavouring to gain them over to their Interest, and therefore sent to invite them to a Conference at *Philadelphia*. In September, 1732, *Opakethwa* and *Opakeita*, two of their Chiefs, attended with two others, came down. Upon their Arrival, the Governor asked them, why they had removed so far back as *Allegheney* or the *Ohio*; and why they had been so often of late at *Canada*? Treaty with the Shawanese at Philadelphia, 1732.

To this they answered, That they formerly lived at *Potomack*, where their King died; that, upon his Death, not knowing what to do, they took their Wives and Children, and went over the Mountains to live; that they had gone to *Canada* at the earnest Invitation of the *French* Governor, but without any Intention to leave their Brethren the *English*, or turn their Backs upon them.

They were then put in Mind of their coming to *Conestogo* about 34 Years before, and of the Treaties they had entered into with this Government, and were informed, that it was a Matter of Surprise that they should retire and leave the

Pro-

Province without first acquainting the Governor with it. They were told, that *Thomas Penn*, who was there present, was not pleased they should retire to such a Distance; that he desired they might live near us; and that they might not be straitned for want of Land, there was a large Tract laid out for them about their Town near *Pexton*, which should be always kept for them, and their Children, for all Time to come, or so long as any of them should continue to live with us.

To this they answered, that they had heard of the Land laid out for them, that they would come and see the Land; but that the Place where they are now suits them better, and is safer to live in; that they are pleased, however, with the Land laid out for them, and desire it may be secured to them. The next Day the Proprietor told them, that he would send a Surveyor to run Lines about the Land intended for them, that none but themselves and *Peter Chartiere* should be allowed to live on it.

But to return to the *Delawares*. We have seen above that the Lands on *Delaware* belonged originally to those *Indians*, and that of them the Proprietor, or his Agents, had, at several Times, bought the Lands between *Duck Creek* and the *Leckay Hills*. However, the white People, not confining themselves to these Bounds, went over and settled on the *Indian* Lands. This gave the *Indians* Uneasiness. They complained of the Settlement at *Tulpyhockin*, and were persuaded not to molest the People settled there, but to wait till that Matter could be adjusted. Having waited some Time without receiving any Satisfaction for their Land unjustly taken from them, and seeing further Encroachments made, they renewed

ed their Complaints, so that in 1731 the Assembly took Notice of them to the Governor, and desired that the *Indians* might be made easy respecting their Lands which they said were taken from them. In answer to this the Governor, in his Message to the Assembly, says, "Your Concern that our own *Indians* should be made easy, and those Complaints be removed that they have made of the Christians settling the Lands they claim, is prudent and just, and, in Compliance with your Request, I shall not only move it to the Proprietary Trustees to make a Purchase of these *Indians*, but shall promote it by all the Means in my Power. This I understand has been so long delayed solely in Expectation of the Arrival of some of our Proprietors, who, as the Descendants of their late honourable Father, for whose Name all the *Indians* have the highest Regard, would be the most proper to manage such an Affair with his own Estate. But as I am assured the Gentlemen now in Trust for them have all possible Zeal and Affection for the Peace and true Interest of the Country, it is not to be questioned but that, convinced by the Necessity of it, they will proceed to the utmost Length of the Powers they are invested with, so far as they can with any Safety to themselves, to answer your and my Request in so important an Affair."

Votes of
the Assembly,
Vol.
III. p. 158.

Thus we see that both the Governor and Assembly think it just and reasonable, nay, that it concerns the Peace of the Country, that the *Indians* should be made easy respecting their Lands, and that their Complaints should be removed. Nothing however was done in that Affair till the Arrival of the Proprietary *Thomas Penn,*

Penn, Esq; which was the Year following. Soon after his Arrival a Purchase was made of the Lands at *Tulpyhockin*. This is proved by many living Evidences, tho' the Deeds have not, as we can find, been recorded. But, at the same Time the *Indians* were satisfied on the one Hand, they were injured on the other. While they were paid for their Lands on *Tulpyhockin*, they were very unjustly, and in a Manner forcibly, dispossessed of their Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*. At this very Time Mr. *William Allen** was selling the Land in the *Minissinks*, which had never been purchased of the *Indians*: Nay, was near forty Miles above the *Lechay Hills*, which was so solemnly agreed upon to be the Boundary between the *English* and *Indians*.

Governor *Penn* had, by his last Will and Testament, devised to his Grandson *William Penn*, and his Heirs, 10,000 Acres of Land, to be set out in proper and beneficial Places in this Province by his Trustees. These 10,000 Acres Mr. *Allen* purchased of *William Penn* the Grandson, and by Virtue of a Warrant or Order of the Trustees to *Jacob Taylor*, the Surveyor-General, to survey the said 10,000 Acres, he had Part of that Land located or laid out in the *Minissinks*, because it was good Land, tho' it was not yet purchased of the *Indians*. Had he contented himself with securing the Right to himself, and suffered the Lands to remain in the Possession of the *Indians*, till it had been duly purchased of them and paid for, no ill Consequences would have ensued: But (probably supposing the Matter might easily be accommodated with them in some future Treaty) no sooner had he the

* One of the principal Gentlemen in *Pensylvania*, and a great Dealer in Lands purchased of the Proprietaries.

Land surveyed to him than he began to sell it to those who would immediately settle it. By his Deeds to *N. Depue*, dated 1733, and recorded in the Rolls-Office of *Bucks*, it appears that one of the Tracts he granted included a *Shawanese* Town, and that another was an Island belonging to the same Tribe of *Indians*, and from them called the *Shawna Island*.

About this Time the Proprietor published Proposals for a Lottery of one hundred Thousand Acres of Land, which the fortunate Adventurers were, by the fifth Article of the Proposals, allowed to " lay out any where
 " within the Province, except on Manors,
 " Lands already surveyed or agreed for with the
 " Proprietors, or their Agents, or that have
 " been actually settled and improved before the
 " Date of these Proposals; provided, nevertheless, that such Persons who are settled on Lands
 " without Warrants for the same, and may be
 " intitled to Prizes, either by becoming Adventurers themselves, or by purchasing Prize-Tickets, may have Liberty to lay their Rights
 " on the Lands where they are so seated." So that there was no Exception of Lands unpurchased of the *Indians*, but rather an express Provision for those who had unjustly seated themselves there. Again, in the last Article, it is
 " farther agreed, that whereas several of the Adventurers may be unacquainted with proper
 " Places whereon to locate the Prizes they will
 " be intitled to, several Tracts of the best vacant Lands shall be laid out and divided into
 " Lotts for all Prizes not less than 200 Acres." In consequence of this, several Tracts were laid out in the Forks of *Delaware*, and divided into Lots, as above agreed. And tho' the Lottery did

did not readily fill, and consequently was not drawn, yet so many of the Tickets as were sold became Rights to the Land, by Virtue of which the Tracts laid out in the Forks were quickly taken up and settled.

These Transactions provoked the *Indians*, who seeing themselves like to be deprived of their Lands without any Consideration, complained loudly, and not only complained but began to threaten. The Proprietor had two or three Meetings with them, the Minutes of which were never published. But finding his Endeavours of no Avail to stop their Clamours, he had Recourse to another Method, resolving to complain of them to the Deputies of the Five Nations, who were expected down to compleat the Business of a Treaty which some of their Chiefs held with this Government in the Year 1732. In 1736 the Deputies of the Five Nations arrived. That a Complaint was at this Time exhibited against the *Delawares* we are informed in the Treaty 1742; but in what Terms it was conceived, or what Notice the Deputies took of it, we are at a Loss to say, as no Minutes are published of that Affair. Indeed the Minutes published of the Treaty 1736 are so imperfect, that they only serve to shew that a great deal was transacted, and much was said, of which little or no Notice was taken, and over which a Veil seems to be cast. We are just told that most Part of a Week had been spent in treating with the Proprietor about the Purchase of Lands, and that they had signed Releases to him for all the Lands lying between the Mouth of *Susquebannah* and *Kettachtaninius* (*Kittatinny*) Hills. By the

Deed of
Release for
Indian
Purchase,
Oct. 11.
1736.

Deed itself it appears, that the Extent of the Land eastward was "as far as the Heads of the " Branches or Springs which run into the said " *Sus-*

" *Susquehannah*," and therefore did not interfere with the Rights of the *Delawares*, who claimed the Lands lying upon the Waters that fall into *Delaware*.

As Matters of Land were passed over almost in Silence, so likewise were the *Indians* Complaints regarding our Traders. No Notice is taken of them but in the Speech which Mr. *Logan* the President afterwards made to them. Nor should we have known they complained had he not mentioned it. " You have desired us, says he, to recall all our Traders from the *Ohio* or *Allegheny*, and the Branches of *Susquehannah*, but we know not what you mean by our recalling our Traders ; you are sensible the *Indians* cannot live without being supplied with our Goods ; they must have Powder and Lead to hunt, and Cloaths to keep them warm, and if our People do not carry them, others will from *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Jerseys*, and other Places, and we are sure you do not desire that *Indians* should trade with those People rather than with ours. The Traders of all Nations find the *Indians* are so universally fond of Rum that they will not deal without. We have made many Laws against carrying it ; we have ordered the *Indians* to stave the Cags of all that is brought amongst them, but the Woods have not Streets like *Philadelphia*, the Paths in them are endless that they cannot be stopt, so that it will be carried from one Country or another." " If, replied the *Indians*, the Woods are dark, and it is impossible to prevent Rum being carried to *Allegheny*, you had better hinder any Persons going thither at all, and confine your Traders to the River *Susquehannah*, and its Branches ; for as several *Indian* Warriors pass by *Allegheny*, where so much Rum is constantly to be had, we are apprehensive

five some Mischief may happen, and this Consideration often troubles us." In answer to this the *Indians* were told, that the Traders could not be prevented from going where they might best dispose of their Goods; that the most proper Measures in our Power should be taken to hinder their carrying Rum in such Quantities, and it was hoped the *Indians* would give strict Charge to the Warriors to be cautious and prudent that all Kind of Mischief might be prevented.

It has been remarked above, that the Lands granted by the Deputies of the Five Nations lay only on the Waters that run into *Susquebannab*. This was not sufficient to give any Colour of Right for settling the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*; wherefore, to palliate this, some of the *Indians*, who remained in Town, after the kind Treatment they had met with, and the large Presents they had received, were induced, eleven Days after the publick Treaty was ended, and fourteen Days after the Date of the first Deed, to sign a Piece of Writing, declaring, That "their Intention and Meaning, by the former Deed, was to release all their Right, Claim and Pretensions to all the Lands lying within the Bounds and Limits of the Government of *Pensylvania*, beginning eastward on the River *Delaware*, as far northward as the said Ridge of endless Mountains as they cross the Country of *Pensylvania* from the Eastward to the West."

With respect to this Writing, it is to be observed, that, as the Five Nations claimed no Right to the Lands on *Delaware*, they could by the above Instrument, convey none. They only claimed the Lands on *Susquebannab*, for which Reason they say in the above Treaty, "That if
" *Civility*

“ *Civility at Conestogo* should attempt to make a
 “ Sale of any Lands to us, or any of our
 “ Neighbours, they must let us know that he
 “ hath no Power to do so, and that, if he does
 “ any Thing of the Kind, they the *Indians* will
 “ utterly disown him.” But nothing like this
 is said of the *Delawares*, tho’ it was well known to
 the Five Nations that the *Delawares* undertook
 to sell Lands to the *English*, and had but a short
 Time before sold the *Tulpyhockin* Lands. But,
 admitting the Five Nations had a Right; yet can it
 be supposed they would release that Right with-
 out a Consideration? The Extent of Land, tak-
 en in by the last Instrument of Writing, is evi-
 dently double that described in the first Deed,
 yet for this farther Grant there is no Considera-
 tion paid.

Indeed the Proprietor himself did not seem to
 think he had a Right to these Lands without a
 Release from the *Delawares*. He had, therefore,
 in 1737, a Meeting with *Monokykickan*, *Lap-
 pawinzoe*, *Tisbekunk* and *Nutimus*, Chiefs of the
Delaware Indians, at which he prevailed with
 them to sign a Release, by Means of which he
 thought he might gain what he wanted. We
 have no Minutes of that Conference or Treaty
 published; but, in the Preamble of the Release
 then granted, it is said, “ That *Tisbekunk* and
Nutimus had, about three Years before, begun a
 Treaty at *Durham* with *John* and *Thomas Penn*;
 that from thence another Meeting was appointed
 to be at *Pensbury* the next Spring, to which they
 repaired with *Lappawinzoe* and several other of
 the *Delaware Indians*; that, at this Meeting,
 several Deeds were shewed to them for several
 Tracts of Land which their Forefathers had more
 than fifty Years ago sold to *William Penn*; and,

in particular, one Deed from *Maykeerikkisbo*, *Say-hoppey* and *Taughbaughsey*, the Chiefs or Kings of the northern *Indians* on *Delaware*, who, for a certain Quantity of Goods, had granted to *William Penn* a Tract of Land, beginning on a Line drawn from a certain Spruce Tree on the River *Delaware* by a West North-West Course to *Neshameny* Creek, from thence back into the Woods as far as a Man could go in a Day and a half, and bounded on the West by *Neshameny*, or the most westerly Branch thereof, so far as the said Branch doth extend, and from thence by a Line

to the utmost Extent of the Day and half's Walk, and from thence

to the aforesaid River *Delaware*, and so down the Courses of the River to the first mentioned Spruce Tree; and that this appeared to be true by *William Biles* and *Joseph Wood*, who, upon their Affirmation, did declare, That they well remembered the Treaty held by the Agents of *William Penn* and those *Indians* *; that some of the old Men being then absent they requested of Messrs. *John* and *Thomas Penn* more Time to consult with their People concerning the same, which Request being granted, they, after more than two Years since the Treaty at *Pensbury*, were now come to *Philadelphia* with their Chief *Monokybickan*, and several other old Men, and upon a former Treaty held upon the same Subject, acknowledge themselves satisfied that the above described Tract was granted by the Persons above mentioned, for which Reason they the said *Monokybickan*, *Lappawinzoe*, *Tishekunk* and *Nuti-*

* *Query*, Does the remembering that there was a Treaty prove the Execution of a Deed at that Treaty? *Joseph Wood's* Name is set as an Evidence in that Paper produced as a Copy of the Deed of 1686, why then did he not prove there was such a Sale made or Deed given?

mus, agree to release to the Proprietors all Right to that Tract, and desire that it may be walked, travelled or gone over by Persons appointed for that Purpose.

It will, no doubt, appear strange, that no Notice is taken of the Deed of 1718, and that *Sassoonan* the *Delaware* King, with whom the Treaty of 1728 was held, tho' still alive, was not present at any of these Meetings. But the Reason was plain: The Deed of 1718 fixed the Boundaries so certain that no Advantage could be taken of it; and, had *Sassoonan* been there, he might have obstructed their Measures. For, had he doubted there being a Deed, he might have objected, that the Evidence of Persons declaring that they remembered a Treaty's being held (for that is all that *William Biles* and *Joseph Wood* say) did not prove that a Deed was granted; and he might have called upon them to prove it regularly by the Evidence of those who were Witnesses to the Execution of it; Or, had he admitted the Deed, he might have insisted that it was fully considered at the Treaty in 1718, and that the Tract therein described had already been walked out, and was included in the Deed then granted. And how these Objections would have been answered is hard to say. He would, no doubt, have put them in Mind, that their late Purchase of the Lands on *Tulpyhockin* was a further Confirmation on their Part of the Boundaries agreed on in the Deed 1718; because thereby the Proprietors admitted that the *Oley* Hills, which are a Continuation of the *Lechay* Hills, was the northernmost Extent of any Claim the Proprietors could make under any former *Indian* Purchases.

It was therefore necessary, in order that Things might be carried on quietly, that the Deed of 1718 should be passed over in Silence, and that *Saffoonan* should not be present, nor any of those who signed that Deed. If it be asked what Advantage could be gained by getting the Deed of 1686 confirmed? we shall easily see by an Account of the Walk, and of the Advantage taken of the Blanks in the Deed of Release. The Account of the Walk shall be given in the Words of the Persons who were Eye-Witnesses, as written and signed by them.

“ The Relation which *Thomas Furniss*, Sadler, gives concerning the Day and half’s Walk made between the Proprietors of *Pensylvania* and the *Delaware Indians*, by *James Yeates* and *Edward Marshall*. ”

“ At the Time of the Walk I was a Dweller at *Newton*, and a near Neighbour to *James Yeates*. My Situation gave *James Yeates* an easy Opportunity of acquainting me with the Time of setting out, as it did me of hearing the different Sentiments of the Neighbourhood concerning the Walk, some alledging it was to be made by the River, others that it was to be gone upon a strait Line from somewhere in *Wrights-Town*, opposite to a Spruce Tree upon the River’s Bank, said to be a Boundary to a former Purchase. When the Walkers and the Company started I was a little behind, but was informed they proceeded from a Chesnut Tree near the Turning out of the Road from *Durham* Road to *John Chapman’s*, and, being on Horse-back, overtook them before they reach’d *Buckingham*, and kept Company for some Distance beyond the blue Mountains,

“ tho’

“ tho’ not quite to the End of the Journey.
 “ Two *Indians* attended, whom I considered as
 “ Deputies appointed by the *Delaware* Nation,
 “ to see the Walk honestly performed ; one of
 “ them repeatedly expressed his Dissatisfaction
 “ therewith. The first Day of the Walk, be-
 “ fore we reached *Durham* Creek, where we
 “ dined in the Meadows of one *Wilson* an *Indian*
 “ Trader, the *Indian* said the Walk was to have
 “ been made up the River, and complaining of
 “ the Unfitness of his Shoepacks for Travelling,
 “ said he expected *Thomas Penn* would have
 “ made him a Present of some Shoes. After
 “ this some of us that had Horses walked and
 “ let the *Indians* ride by Turns, yet in the Af-
 “ ternoon of the same Day, and some Hours
 “ before Sun-set, the *Indians* left us, having
 “ often called to *Marshall* that Afternoon and
 “ forbid him to run. At parting they appeared
 “ dissatisfied, and said they would go no further
 “ with us ; for, as they saw the Walkers would
 “ pass all the good Land, they did not care how
 “ far or where we went to. It was said we tra-
 “ velled twelve Hours the first Day, and, it be-
 “ ing in the latter End of *September*, or Begin-
 “ ning of *October*, to compleat the Time, were
 “ obliged to walk in the Twilight. *Timothy*
 “ *Smith*, then Sheriff of *Bucks*, held his Watch
 “ in his Hand for some Minutes before we stopt,
 “ and the Walkers having a Piece of rising
 “ Ground to ascend, he called out to them, tel-
 “ ling the Minutes behind, and bid them pull
 “ up, which they did so briskly, that, immedi-
 “ ately upon his saying the Time was out, *Mer-*
 “ *shall* clasped his Arms about a Saplin to sup-
 “ port himself, and thereupon the Sheriff asking
 “ him what was the Matter, he said he was al-

“ most gone, and that, if he had proceeded a
 “ few Poles further, he must have fallen. We
 “ lodged in the Woods that Night, and heard
 “ the Shouting of the *Indians* at a Cantico,
 “ which they were said to hold that Evening in
 “ a Town hard by. Next Morning the *Indians*
 “ were sent to, to know if they would accom-
 “ pany us any farther, but they declined it, al-
 “ tho’ I believe some of them came to us before
 “ we started, and drank a Dram in the Compa-
 “ ny, and then straggled off about their Hunt-
 “ ing or some other Amusement. In our Re-
 “ turn we came thro’ this *Indian* Town or Plan-
 “ tation. *Timothy Smith* and myself riding forty
 “ Yards more or less before the Company, and
 “ as we approached within about 150 Paces of
 “ the Town, the Woods being open, we saw
 “ an *Indian* take a Gun in his Hand, and ad-
 “ vancing towards us some Distance placed him-
 “ self behind a Log that laid by our Way.
 “ *Timothy* observing his Motions, and being
 “ somewhat surpris’d, as I apprehended, looked
 “ at me, and asked what I thought that *Indian*
 “ meant. I said, I hoped no Harm, and that
 “ I thought it best to keep on, which the *Indian*
 “ seeing, arose and walked before us to the Set-
 “ tlement. I think *Timothy Smith* was surpris’d,
 “ as I well remember I was, thro’ a Consciouf-
 “ ness that the *Indians* were dissatisfied with the
 “ Walk, a Thing the whole Company seem’d
 “ to be sensible of, and upon the Way, in our
 “ Return home, frequently express’d themselves
 “ to that Purpose. And indeed the Unfairness
 “ practis’d in the Walk, both in regard to the
 “ Way where, and Manner how, it was per-
 “ formed, and the Dissatisfaction of the *Indians*
 “ concerning it, were the common Subjects of
 “ Con-

“ Conversation in our Neighbourhood for some
 “ considerable Time after it was done. When
 “ this Walk was performed I was a young Man
 “ in the Prime of Life; the Novelty of the
 “ Thing inclined me to be a Spectator, and as I
 “ had been brought up most of my Time in *Bur-*
 “ *lington*, the whole Transaction to me was a Se-
 “ ries of Occurrences almost entirely new, and
 “ which therefore, I apprehend, made the more
 “ strong and lasting Impressions on my Memory.
 “ *Thomas Furniss.*”

Joseph Knowles's Account of the said Walk is as
 follows;

“ June 30th, 1757. I Joseph Knowles, liv-
 “ ing with *Timothy Smith* at the Time of the
 “ Day and half's Walk with the *Indians*, (*Ti-*
 “ *mothy Smith* then Sheriff for *Buck's County*)
 “ do say, that I went some Time before to carry
 “ the Chain, and help to clear a Road, as direc-
 “ ted by my Uncle *Timothy Smith*. When the
 “ Walk was performed I was then present, and
 “ carried Provisions, Liquors and Bedding.
 “ About Sun-rising we set out from *John Chap-*
 “ *man's Corner* at *Wrights-Town*, and travelled
 “ until we came to the Forks of *Delaware*, as
 “ near as I can remember was about one of the
 “ Clock the same Day. The *Indians* then be-
 “ gan to look fullen, and murmured that the
 “ Men walked so fast, and several Times that
 “ Afternoon called out, and said to them, You
 “ run; that's not fair, you was to walk. The
 “ Men appointed to walk paid no Regard to the
 “ *Indians*, but were urged by *Timothy Smith*,
 “ and the rest of the Proprietor's Party, to pro-
 “ ceed

“ceed until the Sun was down. We were near
 “the *Indian* Town in the Forks: The *Indians*
 “denied us going to the Town on Excuse of a
 “Cantico. We lodged in the Woods that Night.
 “Next Morning, being dull rainy Weather, we
 “set out by the Watches, and two of the three
 “*Indians*, that walked the Day before, came
 “and travelled with us about two or three Miles,
 “and then left us, being very much dissatisfied,
 “and we proceeded by the Watches until Noon.
 “The above I am willing to qualify * to any
 “Time when desired. Witness my Hand the
 “Day and Year above said.

“*Jos. Knowles.*”

Having, by Means of the above Walk, gone
 about 30 Miles beyond the *Lechay* Hills, which
 were so solemnly agreed upon in 1718 and 1728,
 to be the Boundaries, it now remained to draw
 the Line from the End of the Walk to the Ri-
 ver *Delaware*. We have seen above there was a
 Blank left for the Course of this Line: Taking
 the Advantage, therefore, of this Blank, instead
 of running by the nearest Course to the River,
 or by an East South-East Course, which would
 have been parallel to the Line from which they
 set out, they ran by a North-East Course for
 above an hundred Miles across the Country to
 near the Creek *Lechawachsein*, and took in the
 best of the Land in the Forks, all the *Minisinks*, &c.
 Thus a Pretence was gained for claiming the Land
 in the Forks without paying any Thing for it. But
 the Accomplishment of this Design lost us the
 Friendship of the *Indians*, and laid the Foundation
 of our present Troubles, and will, it is to be feared,
 in the End cost the Proprietaries very dear.

* *i. e.* Take an Oath or Affirmation.

But

But had there been nothing else to object to this Deed, what shews indisputably, that an undue Advantage was taken, is, that under Colour of a Release given by the Chiefs of the *Delawares*, the Lands belonging to the *Minisink Indians* were taken in, tho' these latter *Indians* were, as we have seen above, declared, both by the *Conestogoes* and *Delawares*, to be a Nation independant of them, and whose Lands they consequently could not convey away: And the depriving the *Minisink Indians* thus of their Lands is, no doubt, the Reason that they have of late been our most bitter Enemies, and are at present inclined to Peace and Friendship the least of any of the northern Tribes.

In 1742 the Deputies of the Six Nations made a Visit to this Government. In the Minutes that are published of that Treaty, it is said, that the Design of their Coming was to receive from the Proprietor a large Quantity of Goods for the Lands on the west Side of *Susquebannab*, they having at their last Treaty in 1736 only received Goods for the Lands on the eastern Side of that River: But it appears from Governor *Thomas's* Message to the Assembly, with the Minutes of the Treaty, as well as from the Treaty itself, that there was another Cause for pressing them to come down at this Time. The Governor expressly says, "That their coming
 " down was not only necessary for the *present*
 " *Peace of the Province in Regard to some In-*
 " *dians who had threatened to maintain by Force*
 " *their Possession of Lands*, which had been long
 " ago purchased of them, and since conveyed
 " by the Proprietaries to some of our own In-
 " habitants, but for its future Security in case of
 " a Rupture with the *French*."

The

Votes of
the Assem-
bly, Vol.
III. p.
481, &c.

The Truth of the Matter was this. The *Minisink* and *Fork Indians* saw themselves unjustly dispossessed of their Lands; *Nutimus* and others, who signed the Release 1737, saw themselves over-reached, they were not therefore willing to quit the Lands, nor give quiet Possession, to the People who came thick to take up Lands and settle in the *Forks*. They had complained of the Walk, as we have seen, but no Regard was paid to their Complaints. They now proceeded to other Measures. They got Letters wrote to the Governor and Mr. *Langborne* a Magistrate of *Bucks*, in which they treated the Proprietors with a great deal of Freedom, remonstrated against the Injustice that was done them, and declared their Resolution of maintaining the Possession of their Lands by Force of Arms. This alarmed the Proprietor, who thereupon, in 1741, sent *Skicalamy* (a Six Nation Indian, who resided at *Skamokin*) to the Six Nations, to press them to come down. It was well known that the Six Nations had a great Authority over the *Delawares*; it was therefore thought sufficient to engage them to interpose their Authority, and force the *Delawares* to quit the Forks. Accordingly when the Deputies of the Six Nations came down in 1742, the Governor told them, that "The last Time the Chiefs of the Six Nations were here they were informed, that their Cousins, a Branch of the *Delawares*, gave this Province some Disturbance about the Lands the Proprietors purchased from them, and for which their Ancestors had received a valuable Consideration above fifty five Years ago, as appears by a Deed now lying on the Table—That some Time after this, *Conrad Weiser* delivered to their Brother *Thomas Penn* their Letter, wherein

Treaty
at Phila-
delphia,
1742.

wherein they request of him and *James Logan*, that they would not buy Land, &c.—That this had been shewn to the *Delawares*, and interpreted; notwithstanding which they had continued their former Disturbances, and had the Insolence to write Letters to some of the Magistrates of this Government, wherein they had abused the worthy Proprietaries, and treated them with the utmost Rudeness and ill Manners; that being loth, out of Regard to the Six Nations, to punish the *Delawares* as they deserved, he had sent two Messengers to inform them, the Six Nation Deputies were expected here, and should be acquainted with their Behaviour; that, as the Six Nations, on all Occasions, apply to this Government to remove all white People that are settled on Lands before they are purchased from them, and as the Government use their Endeavours to turn such People off, so now he expects from them that they will cause these *Indians* to remove from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*, and not give any farther Disturbance to the Persons who are now in Possession; and this he enforced after the *Indian* Custom, by laying down a String of Wampum.”

Then were read the several Conveyances, the Paragraph of the Letters wrote by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, relating to the *Delawares*, the Letters of the Fork *Indians* to the Governor and Mr. *Langborne*, and a Draught of the Land.

When this Complaint was made, there were present *Sassoonan* the Chief, with whom the Treaty 1728 was held, and *Nutimus*, one of those who had signed the Release in 1737; but it does not appear that they were admitted to make any Defence, or to say any Thing in their own Vindication. Had there been any Design to do Justice

tice to the *Delawares*, or to preserve the Friendship of those who, from the earliest Settlement of the Province, had been kind Neighbours and Friends, they would no Doubt have been admitted to speak for themselves, and to offer what Reasons they had for refusing to quit the Lands. But then the doing of this might have discovered the Iniquity of the Walk, and other unfair Advantages taken, and might have brought back the Boundaries to the *Lechay Hills*, the Place agreed upon in the Deed of 1718, and the Treaty of 1728, and so well known by the Proprietaries Commissioners, as appears from Mr. *Logan's* Letter already quoted, and from the Purchase which the same Gentleman and Company made from the *Indians* about the Year 1729 of a Tract of Land about *Durham*.

In this Case it might then have cost the Proprietaries three or four hundred Pounds more to purchase the Lands in the Forks, if the *Indians* there had been willing to dispose of them; or, had the *Indians* refused that, it might have been difficult to remove the People settled there, and to reimburse them the Money they had paid the Proprietors for the Lands they had there taken up: Besides, some private Persons, as we have seen above, were making very large Estates by getting the good Lands in the Forks surveyed to them by Virtue of old Rights which they had purchased. Now, as it does not always happen that the Peace and Tranquility of the Public is preferred to private Interest, these might be unwilling to give up their Rights, unless the Proprietaries would make them a suitable Compensation. For these, therefore, and other Reasons, it was judged best to call in the Assistance of the Six Nations, to put them in Mind, as had been done before, of the Use they might make
of

of having conquered the *Delawares*, and of the Right they thereby acquired to their Lands; and lastly, by Means of a considerable Present, which the Province might be induced to make them, to engage them to “ cause the *Indians* to remove from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*, and not to give any further Disturbance to the Persons who were then in Possession.”

Accordingly, the second Day after receiving a Present from the Province, to the Value of three hundred Pounds, and what more from the Proprietor is uncertain, *Canassatego*, in the Name of the Deputies, told the Governor, “ That they saw the *Delawares* had been an unruly People, and were altogether in the Wrong; that they had concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River *Delaware*, and quit all Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future, since they have received Pay for them, and it is gone thro’ their Guts long ago:” Then addressing the *Delawares*, he said, “ They deserved to be taken by the Hair of the Head and shaken severely, till they recovered their Senses and became sober— That he had seen with his Eyes a Deed signed by nine of their Ancestors above fifty Years ago for this very Land, and a Release signed not many Years since by some of themselves and Chiefs yet living, to the Number of fifteen and upwards.” “ But how came you (says he, continuing his Speech to the *Delawares*) to take upon you to sell Lands at all? We conquered you; we made Women of you: You know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone thro’ your Guts; you have been furnished with
“ Cloaths,

“ Cloaths, Meat and Drink, by the Goods paid
 “ you for it, and now you want it again like
 “ Children as you are. But what makes you
 “ sell Lands in the Dark? Did you ever tell us
 “ that you had sold this Land? Did we ever re-
 “ ceive any Part, even the Value of a Pipe-
 “ shank, from you for it? You have told us a
 “ blind Story, that you sent a Messenger to us,
 “ to inform us of the Sale, but he never came
 “ amongst us, nor we ever heard any thing about
 “ it. This is acting in the Dark, and very dif-
 “ ferent from the Conduct our Six Nations ob-
 “ serve in the Sales of Land. On such Occa-
 “ sions they give publick Notice, and invite all
 “ the *Indians* of their united Nations, and give
 “ them all a Share of the Present they receive for
 “ their Lands. This is the Behaviour of the
 “ wise united Nations. But we find you are
 “ none of our Blood; you act a dishonest Part
 “ not only in this but in other Matters; your
 “ Ears are ever open to slanderous Reports about
 “ your Brethren—For all these Reasons we
 “ charge you to remove instantly; we don’t give
 “ you the Liberty to think about it. You are
 “ Women. Take the Advice of a wise Man,
 “ and remove immediately. You may return to
 “ the other Side of *Delaware* where you came
 “ from; but we do not know whether, confi-
 “ dering how you have demeaned yourselves, you
 “ will be permitted to live there, or whether you
 “ have not swallowed that Land down your
 “ Throats as well as the Land on this Side.
 “ We therefore assign you two Places to go,
 “ either to *Wyomen* or *Shamokin*. You may go
 “ to either of these Places, and then we shall
 “ have you more under our Eye, and shall see
 “ how you behave. Don’t deliberate, but re-

“ move away, and take this Belt of Wampum.” After this he forbade them ever to intermeddle in Land Affairs, or ever hereafter to presume to sell any Land, and then commanded them, as he had something to transact with the *English*, immediately to depart the Council.—

This peremptory Command the *Delawares* did not dare to disobey. They therefore immediately left the Council, and soon after removed from the Forks; some to *Shamokin* and *Wyomen*, and some to the *Ohio*. But tho’ they did not then dare to dispute the Order, yet, when the present Troubles began, and they found the *French* ready to support them, they shewed this Province, as well as the Six Nations, how they resented the Treatment they met with in 1742. They took a severe Revenge on the Province, by laying Waste their Frontiers, and paid so little Regard to a menacing Message which the Six Nations sent them, that they in their Turn threatened to turn their Arms against them, and, at last, forced them to acknowledge they were Men, that is, a free independant Nation.—

We see above, that great Strefs is laid on a Deed, said to be granted above fifty five Years ago. This is said to be the Deed of 1686. Yet, tho’ it is mentioned here as lying on the Table; nay, tho’ the *Indian* Speaker says, that he had seen it with his own Eyes, yet still it is doubted whether there really was such a Deed. It is certain there is none such now in being, nor recorded: For, at the Treaty at *Easton*, 1757, when the *Indian* King demanded that the Deeds might be produced, by which the Proprietors held the Lands, and the Governor and his Council determined to follow the Course the Proprietor

tor had chalked out, and to justify their Claims by the Deed of 1686, and the Release of 1737, they had no Deed of 1686 to produce: But, instead thereof, produced a Writing, said to be a Copy of that Deed, not attested, nor even signed by any one as a true Copy. From whence some have been ready to conclude, that the Charge brought by the *Indian* Chief, at the *Easton* Treaty in 1756, is not without Grounds; where he says, that some Lands were taken from him by Fraud and Forgery; and afterwards, when called upon to explain what he means by these Terms, says, “ When one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase Lands, and he took a Deed from the *Indians* for it, and then dies; after his Death the Children forge a Deed like the true one, with the same *Indian* Names to it, and thereby take Lands from the *Indians* which they never sold.—This is Fraud.” It is farther asked, if there was such a Deed, why was it not recorded as well as the Release 1737, answering thereto?

It may not be amiss to observe here the different Manner in which the *English* and *French* treat the *Indians*. The *English*, in order to get their Lands, drive them as far from them as possible, nor seem to care what becomes of them, provided they can get them removed out of the Way of their present Settlements; whereas the *French*, considering that they can never want Land in *America*, who enjoy the Friendship of the *Indians*, use all the Means in their Power to draw as many into their Alliance as possible, and, to secure their Affections, invite as many as can to come and live near them, and to make their Towns as near the *French* Settlements as they can. By this Means they have drawn

off a great Number of the *Mobacks*, and other Six Nation Tribes, and having settled them in Towns along the Banks of the River *St. Lawrence*, have so secured them to their Interest, that, even of these, they can command above six or seven Hundred fighting Men, which is more than Colonel *Johnson* has, with all his Interest, been able to raise in all the northern District.

But to return: In this Treaty of 1742 the Deputies of the Six Nations themselves complain, that they are not well used with Respect to the Land still unfold by them. "Your People, say they to the Governor, daily settle on these Lands, and spoil our Hunting. We must insist on your removing them, as you know they have no Right to settle to the Northward of the *Kittochtinny* Hills. In particular we renew our Complaints against some People who are settled at *Juniata*, a Branch of *Susquebanna*, and all along the Banks of that River as far as *Mahanoy*, and desire they may forthwith be made to go off the Land, for they do great Damage to our Cousins the *Delawares*." They likewise laid Claim to some Lands in *Maryland* and *Virginia*, which occasioned the Treaty at *Lancaster* in 1744.

With respect to the People settled at *Juniata* the Governor told the *Indians*, that "some Magistrates were sent expressly to remove them, and he thought no Persons would presume to stay after that." Here they interrupt the Governor, and said, "These Persons who were sent do not do their Duty; so far from removing the People they made Surveys for themselves, and they are in League with the Trespassors; we desire more effectual Methods may be used,

D

" and

Lancaster
Treaty,
1744.

“ and honest Men employed.” Which the Governor promised should be done.

In consequence of the Claims which the *Indians* made to the Lands southward of this Province, Letters were wrote to the Governors of *Maryland* and *Virginia*, who shewed a ready Disposition to come to any reasonable Terms with the Six Nations on Account of these Lands, and desired that for that End, a Time and Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them. But before this could be effected an unfortunate Skirmish happened in the back Parts of *Virginia* between some of the Militia there and a Party of the *Indian* Warriors of the Six Nations. To mend this Breach the Governor of *Pensylvania* offered his Service, which was accepted by both Parties. Soon after *Conrad Weiser* was dispatched to *Shamokin* where he met the Deputies from *Onondago*, the grand Council of the Six Nations, who informed him that the Six Nations were well pleased with the Mediation of the Governor of *Pensylvania*, and that they would, in pursuance of the Invitation sent to them by the Governor of *Maryland*, meet him next Year. After this, the Deputy addressing himself to the Governor of *Pensylvania*, desired, in the Name of the Six Nations, that the People who were settled on *Juniata* might be removed from thence. “ We have, says he, “ given the River *Juniata* for a Hunting-Place “ to our Cousins the *Delaware Indians*, and our “ Brethren the *Shawanese*, and we ourselves hunt “ there sometimes. We therefore desire you will “ immediately by Force remove all those that “ live on the said River *Juniata*.”

Lancaster being agreed upon for the Place of Meeting, the Deputies from the Six Nations and Commissioners from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, in

Juniata

June 1744, met at the Place appointed. The Governor of *Pensylvania* was also present.

In the Opening of the Treaty the *Indians* complain that they are liable to many Inconveniencies since the *Engliff* came among them, and particularly from Pen and Ink Work, of which they gave the following Instance. “ When, said “ they, our Brother *Onas* (*i. e.* Governor *Penn*) “ a great While ago came to *Albany* to buy “ the *Susquebannab* Lands of us, our Brother “ the Governor of *New-York*, who, as we suppose, had not a good Understanding with our “ Brother *Onas*, advised us not to sell him any “ Land, for he would make an ill Use of it; “ and, pretending to be our Friend, he advised “ us, in order to prevent *Onas*’s, or any other “ Persons, imposing on us, and that we might “ always have our Land when we wanted it, to “ put it into his Hands; and he told us he “ would keep it for our Use, and never open “ his Hands, but keep them close shut, and “ not part with any of it, but at our Request. “ Accordingly we trusted him, and put our “ Lands into his Hands, and charged him to “ keep them safe for our Use. But sometime “ after he went to *England*, and carried our “ Land with him, and there sold it to our Brother “ *Onas* for a large Sum of Money: And when, “ at the Instance of our Brother *Onas*, we were “ minded to sell him some Lands, he told us “ we had sold the *Susquebannab* Lands already “ to the Governor of *New-York*, and that he “ had bought them from him in *England*; tho’, “ when he came to understand how the Governor of *New-York* had deceived us, he very “ generously paid us for our Lands over again.”

After this they proceed to shew the Grounds of their Claim to some Lands in *Virginia* and *Maryland*. With respect to *Maryland* they acknowledge the Purchases which the *Marylanders* had made of the *Conestogo* Indians to be just and valid, but alledge that the Lands on *Potomack*, which they claim, are not comprised within those Deeds, and therefore remain to be purchased; and, as they have conquered the *Conestogoes*, they insist that the Purchases be made of them. *Cannassatego*, the *Indian* Speaker, farther said, "That, " as the three Governors of *Virginia*, *Maryland* " and *Pensylvania* had divided the Lands among " them, they could not, for this Reason, tell " how much each had got, nor were they concerned about it, so that they were paid by all " the Governors for the several Parts each possessed, and this they left to their Honour and " Justice."

The Commissioners of *Maryland*, in answer to this, say, " That, tho' they cannot admit their Right, yet they are so resolved to live in brotherly Love and Affection with the Six Nations, that, if they will give a Release in Writing of all their Claims to any Lands in *Maryland*, they will make them a Compensation to the Value of three Hundred Pounds Currency." To this the Deputies of the Six Nations agreed, and a Deed of Release was made out accordingly. The Lands in *Virginia*, which the *Indians* claimed, lay to the South of *Potomack*, and westward of a high Ridge of Mountains that extended along the Frontier-Settlements of *Virginia*. The Commissioners of *Virginia*, after disputing the Rights and Claims of the Six Nations, offer them a Quantity of Goods to the Value of two Hundred Pounds *Pensylvania* Currency, and two Hun-

Hundred Pounds in Gold, on Condition they immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's Right to all the Lands that are, or shall be, by his Majesty's Appointment, in the Colony of *Virginia*. The *Indians* agreed to this, only desiring that their Case might be represented to the King, in order to have a further Consideration when the Settlements encreased much further back. To which the Commissioners agreed; and, for a further Security that they would make the Representation to the King, they promised to give the Deputies a Writing under their Hands and Seals to that Purpose. Accordingly the Deed was signed and every Thing settled to mutual Satisfaction.

At this Treaty the *Indian* Deputies tell the Governor of *Pensylvania*, that the *Conoy* (called in former Treaties *Ganaway*) *Indians* had informed them, that they had sent him a Message some Time ago, to advise him, that they were ill used by the white People in the Place where they had lived, and that they had come to a Resolution of removing to *Shamokin*, and requested some small Satisfaction for their Land; and, as they never had received any Answer from him, they desired the Six Nations to speak for them. They therefore recommended their Case to his Generosity.

To this the Governor answered, That he well remembered the coming down of one of the *Conoy Indians* with a Paper, setting forth, that the *Conoys* had come to a Resolution to leave the Land reserved for them by the Proprietaries, but that he made no Complaint of ill Usage from the white People. The Governor farther said, that he had not yet heard from the Proprietors on that Head, but from the Favour and Justice they had

always shewn to the *Indians*, they may be assured the Proprietors will do every Thing that can be reasonably expected from them in that Case.

Some Time before this Treaty one *John Armstrong*, an *Indian* Trader, and two of his Men, had been murdered by a *Delaware Indian*, and his Goods carried off. There were three *Indians* present, but only one had committed the Murder. Upon this *Shecalamy*, and the *Shomokin Indians*, had two of the three apprehended and sent down to the *English*; but the *Indians*, who had them in Charge, finding one was innocent, gave him an Opportunity to escape: The other was carried to *Philadelphia* and put in Prison. The Governor, therefore, now informing the Six Nation Deputies of what had been done, desired them to use their Authority, that the two other *Indians*, who were present at the Murder, should be seized and delivered up to be tried with the Principal now in Custody, and he promised, that if, upon Examination, they were found innocent, they should be sent home safe. The *Indians*, in answer, told the Governor, they had heard of what was done, and in their Journey here had a Conference with the *Delawares* about it, and reproved them severely for it: They promised farther, upon their Return, to renew their Reproofs, and to charge the *Delawares* to send down some of their Chiefs with these two young Men (but not as Prisoners) to be examined by him, and said, that, as they thought, upon Examination, he would not find them guilty, they relied on his Justice, not to do them any Harm, but to permit them to return in Safety.

Accordingly some of the *Delaware* Chiefs came down to *Philadelphia* in *October* following, and brought with them the two young Men, who,

being examined and found innocent, were dismissed.

By the Message which the Governor sent to the Assembly immediately upon his Return from *Lancaster*, it appears, "that the *Shawaneſe* had been endeavouring to draw the *Delawares* from *Shamokin* to *Obio*, and that it was whiſpered among the Six Nations, that, ſhould they be obliged to take Part in the War between the *Engliſh* and *French*, they would have the *Shawaneſe*, and perhaps the *Delawares* alſo, to oppoſe them." This ſhews there were ſome Heart-Burnings between the *Delawares* and Six Nations notwithſtanding the outward Shew of Friendſhip, and that the former only wanted a favourable Opportunity to throw off the Yoke, as they have done ſince, and to revenge the Inſults that had been offered them at *Philadelphis* but two Years before.

Votes of
the Aſſem-
bly, Vol.
III. p.
555.

There is one Paragraph in the Governor's Message which deſerves to be ſtrictly attended to.
 " I cannot, ſays he, but be apprehenſive that
 " the *Indian Trade*, as it is now carried on, will
 " involve us in ſome fatal Quarrel with the *Indi-
 " ans*. Our Traders, in Deſiance of the Law,
 " carry ſpirituous Liquors among them, and
 " take the Advantage of their inordinate Appe-
 " tite for it to cheat them of their Skins and their
 " Wampum, which is their Money, and often
 " to debauch their Wives into the Bargain. Is
 " it to be wondered at then, if, when they reco-
 " ver from their drunken Fit, they ſhould take
 " ſome ſevere Revenges. If I am rightly in-
 " formed, the like Abuſes of the Traders in
 " *New-England* were the principal Cauſes of the
 " *Indian Wars* there, and at length obliged the
 " Government to take the Trade into their own
 " Hands.

“ Hands. This is a Matter that well deserves
 “ your Attention, and perhaps will soon require
 “ your Imitation.”

It would be too shocking to describe the Conduct and Behaviour of the Traders, when among the *Indians*, and endless to enumerate the Abuses the *Indians* had received and borne from them for a Series of Years. Suffice it to say, that several of the Tribes were at last weary of bearing. And as these Traders were the Persons who were, in some Sort, the Representatives of the *English* among the *Indians*, and by whom they were to judge of our Manners and Religion, they conceived such invincible Prejudices against both, particularly against our holy Religion, that when Mr. *Sergeant*, a Gentleman in *New-England*, took a Journey in 1741 to the *Shawanese*, and some other Tribes, living on *Susquehannah*, and offered to instruct them in the Christian Religion, they rejected his Offer with Disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the Traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their Women, and even their Wives, if their Husbands were not at home. They said farther, that the *Senecas* had given them their Country, but charged them withal never to receive Christianity from the *English*.

Hopkin's
 Memoirs
 relating
 to the
 Housatun-
 nuk Indi-
 ans. P. 90,
 &c.

The Treaty of 1747, held at *Philadelphia* with the *Ohio Indians*, at which they complained of the *Eng'ish* for having engaged them in a War with the *French*, and then left them to fight it out themselves; as well as the *Lancaster* Treaty of 1748, at which the *Twightwees*, a powerful Nation westward of the *Ohio*, entered into an Alliance with the *English*; we shall pass over and proceed to that of 1749, held at *Philadelphia* with some Deputies from the *Senecas*. These had

had been sent to meet some other Chiefs from each of the Six Nations, who had been appointed by the grand Council at *Onondago* to go to *Philadelphia* on some Affairs of Importance. Coming at the Time appointed to the Place of Rendezvous, and having there, for some Time, in vain waited the Arrival of the other Deputies; they agreed to proceed by themselves to *Philadelphia*. “ One of the most considerable Points “ (says their Speaker to the Governor) which induced the Council to send Deputies at this “ Time, was, that they had heard the white “ People had begun to settle on their Side the “ blue Mountains, and we, the Deputies of the “ *Senecas*, staying so long at *Wyomen*, had an “ Opportunity of enquiring into the Truth of “ this Information, and to our Surprize found “ the Story confirmed, with this Addition, that “ even this Spring, since the Governor’s Arrival, Numbers of Families were beginning to “ make Settlements. As our Boundaries are so “ well known, and so remarkably distinguished “ by a Range of high Mountains, we could not “ suppose this could be done by Mistake, but “ that either it must be done wickedly by bad “ People without the Knowledge of the Governorment, or that the new Governor has “ brought some Instructions from the King or “ the Proprietaries relating to this Affair, whereby we are like to be much hurt. The Governor will be pleased to tell us, whether he “ has brought any Orders from the King or the “ Proprietaries for these People to settle on our “ Lands; and, if not, we earnestly desire they “ may be made to remove instantly with all their “ Effects to prevent the sad Consequences which “ will otherwise ensue.”

These

These Deputies also renew the Demands of the *Conoy Indians* for some Satisfaction on Account of the Land they had left when they went to settle on *Juniata*. We see the *Indians* don't easily give up a Right; these *Conoys* had engaged the Deputies of the Six Nations to represent their Case to Governor *Thomas*, who told them he had not heard from the Proprietors on this Head, but that they might be assured the Proprietors would do every Thing that could reasonably be expected from them: Now they get the *Senecas* to renew their Demand to Governor *Hamilton*.

In answer to the Speech of the *Indian Chief*, the Governor acknowledges, "That the People's settling on *Juniata* was contrary to the Engagements of this Government to the *Indians*; that he had received no Orders from his Majesty or the Proprietaries in Favour of them; that they had no Countenance from the Government, and that no Endeavours should be wanting on his Part to bring the Offenders to Justice, and to prevent all future Cause of Complaint." With respect to the *Conoys* he lets them know, that he was informed by the Proprietary Officers, that this Land, for which the *Conoys* demand Satisfaction, was not reserved out of the Grant of the Lands sold by the Six Nations; that their living there was only a Favour or Indulgence of the Proprietor; besides, he told the Deputies that the Six Nations had frequently desired the Proprietaries not to give Money to any tributary Nations for Land, and as these *Conoys* are such, they would have Reason to find Fault with the Proprietaries, should they pay any Thing, especially as they have already given to the Six Nations a valuable Consideration. Thus, rather
than

than part with a few Pounds, they would lose the Affections of an *Indian* Tribe.

At the Departure of these Deputies the Governor, considering that the Province had been put to some Expence by them, told them, if they met the other Deputies, to inform them what they had done here, and persuade them to return. Accordingly the *Senecas*, upon their Return meeting the other Deputies, informed them as the Governor desired. However they determined to proceed to *Philadelphia*, and obliged the *Senecas* to return with them. Upon hearing this the Governor sent an Express to *Conrad Weiser*, the Provincial Interpreter, desiring him "to try all possible Methods to divert them from proceeding on their Journey." Hereupon *Conrad Weiser* immediately set out to meet them, and was surprized to see above 200 mostly Men. He stood at a Distance like a Stranger for above a Quarter of an Hour, to signify that he was not well pleased; at last he was obliged to shake Hands with some of them. He then sat down with *Canassatego*, the Chief Speaker, and asked him where he was going with such a Number of *Indians*. *Canassatego* told him, he could not be at a Loss to know where they were going after receiving the Message he had sent him. Mr. *Weiser* replied, that when that Message was sent he had not met the *Seneca* Chiefs, who having been at *Philadelphia*, and performed what was to be done, rendered his Journey thither needless. *Canassatego's* Answer was, "That he had since met the *Seneca* Chiefs, and had brought them back with him; that all was not done that ought to have been done, and that as he had come so far with the Deputies of the Six united Nations, he could not return before he had been in *Philadelphia*."

C. Weiser's Letters to Secretary Peters, Aug. 6. 1749.

delphia. *C. Weiser* told him, he might have left the *Shamokin* and other *Susquehannab Indians* behind. The Day following he had another Conference with *Canassatego* and others, in which he told them, he thought it imprudent for them to go to *Philadelphia* with such a Number of People, who had no Business there but to get drunk ; that, as their Number was so great, they could not expect to get Victuals enough ; that, among white People, every Thing was sold, and the Money, wherewith Provisions were bought, was a free Gift of the Inhabitants ; and that, as the *Seneca* Deputies had been down with a good Number of other *Indians* not long ago, and had cost a great deal of Money, he thought their going was needless, at least that they must not expect any Presents unless they had something else to do which he did not know ; that they remembered very well when they were down formerly they were sent for ; and when they received large Presents it was for some Land which the Proprietors then paid for ; that their Case was otherwise now, and that they ought to know that the great Number of good for nothing People with them made their Case worse."

By this Speech he says he believed he had offended the *Indians* much. This is not to be wondered at ; the *Indians* were very sensible of the Service they had done to the *English* during the late War with the *French* ; that they had served them instead of Forts and Guards against the Incursions of the *French* and their *Indians* : How must it then displease them at the Close of the War to meet with such a Reception !

In consequence of this Speech the *Indian* Chiefs immediately held a Council, where they debated a considerable Time what to do ; some proposed

to

to go home again. However, at last, notwithstanding all that *C. Weiser* could say to the contrary, it was agreed to proceed. Accordingly the Deputies of the Six Nations, accompanied with some *Mohickans*, *Tutelas*, *Delawares* and *Nanticoques*, in all to the Number of 280, set forward, and arrived in *Philadelphia* about the 14th or 15th of *August* 1749. On their Arrival the Governor paid them a Visit, and the 16th Day of the Month being appointed for a public Conference, they met, and all having taken their Seats, *Canassatego* the chief Speaker arose, and addressing himself to the Governor and Council, and all the People of *Pensylvania*, put them in Mind of the Friendship that had long subsisted between the *English* and the *Indians*; that by the Treaties a good Road was established between us and them; that, by Reason of the War, they had not for some Time used that Road, but were now come to pay us a Visit; that it was their Custom, after a long Time, to renew their Leagues, or, as they say, to brighten the Chain of Friendship; that this was necessary now, as they had something to communicate of a disagreeable Nature: After this he takes Notice, that the *Indians* were a Frontier-Country between our Enemy and us, so that they had been our Guard, and Things had been managed so well as to keep the War from our Doors; that tho' they had been exposed to many Calamities, and Blood had been shed among them, yet they did not trouble us with any Account of their Hardships during all this War, and that nothing that had happened had lessened their Affection for us; that having now Leisure they were come to pay a brotherly Visit, and hoped their coming would be agreeable. Then addressing the Governor and Council only, he

he says, " By Treaties all white People were to
 " have been hindered from settling the Lands not
 " purchased of us, or if they should make any
 " Settlement, as they might at such a Distance
 " from you without your knowing of it, you
 " engaged to remove them, when discovered.
 " Notwithstanding your Engagements many
 " People have settled on the East-side of *Susque-*
 " *bannah*, and tho' you may have done your
 " Endeavours to remove them, yet we see these
 " have been without Effect, and that white Peo-
 " ple are no more obedient to you than our
 " young *Indians* are to us; and since it may now
 " be attended with a great deal of Trouble, we
 " have taken this Thing into our Consideration,
 " having, while we were on our Journey, ob-
 " served your People's Settlements, and are wil-
 " ling to give up the Lands on the East-side of
 " *Susquebannah*, from the blue Hills to where
 " *Thomas Magee* the *Indian* Trader lives, and
 " leave it to you to assign the Worth of them."
 But at the same Time they express a Willingness
 to dispose of the Lands eastward of *Susquebannah*,
 they insist with more Earnestness that the People
 should be removed from the unpurchased Land
 westward of that River. They let the Governor
 know they had seen some Papers which were in-
 terpreted to them to be Orders for these People to
 remove in consequence of the Complaints made
 by the Deputies of the *Seneca* Nations: They
 thank him for taking Notice of the Complaints,
 and for taking Measures to turn off the People;
 but told him, they were apprehensive that no
 better Effects would follow these than former
 Ones of the same Nature; " If that should be
 " the Case we must, said they, insist on it, that
 " as this is on the Hunting-Ground of our Cou-
 " sins

“ fins the *Nanticokes*, and other *Indians*, living
 “ on the Waters of *Juniata*, you use more vi-
 “ gorous Measures, and forcibly remove them.”
 After this they inform the Governor, that one
 of their young Warriors, *Canassatego's* Nephew,
 had been lately murdered, and press him in strong
 Terms to examine carefully into the Truth how
 this Warrior came by his Death, and to judge
 impartially without Favour or Affection to his
 own People.

In answer to this the Governor thanks them for
 their firm Adherence to the Interest of his Ma-
 jesty during the War, and for the particular De-
 claration of Regard they had expressed for the
 People of this Province. He lets them know
 that their Visit was taken kindly, and as a Proof
 of this, that a handsome Present was provided
 for them. Having answered what concerned the
 Public, he proceeded to speak to that which was
 addressed to himself and the Council, and says,
 “ Brethren, we have taken into Consideration
 “ your Offer of some Lands lying on the East-
 “ side of *Susquebannah*; and tho' we have no
 “ Directions from the Proprietaries, who are
 “ now in *England*, to treat with you for Lands,
 “ yet, as we judged it for their Benefit, and for
 “ the public Good, not to reject the Offer you
 “ have thought proper to make, we sent you Word
 “ by the Interpreter that we would treat with
 “ you about a new Purchase, but, at the same
 “ Time, we gave you to understand that we
 “ could by no Means accede to your Proposal
 “ in the Manner you limited it, viz. to the
 “ Lands lying on the East-side of *Susquebannah*
 “ as far as *Thomas Magee's*, because you must
 “ be sensible, that as the Head of the River
 “ *Schuykill* lies not far from the *Susquebannah*,
 “ and

“ and not far from the Head of *Schuylkill* there
 “ runs one of the main Branches of the River
 “ *Delaware* ; and that the *Delaware Indians*, in
 “ their last Treaty, had granted the Lands from
 “ this Branch to very near the *Lechawachsein* on
 “ *Delaware* ; I say, considering all these Things
 “ which were explained to you on a Draught,
 “ by which it appeared that all you offer is
 “ mountainous, broken and poor Land, you
 “ must know that this is not worth our Accep-
 “ tance ; but we added, if you would extend
 “ your Offer to go more northerly on *Susqueban-*
 “ *nab* as far as *Shamokin*, and that the Tract
 “ might carry its Breadth to *Delaware* River, so
 “ that we could in any Manner justify ourselves
 “ to the Proprietaries, we would close and give
 “ you a just Consideration for the Lands. On
 “ this you held a Council and made us a second
 “ Offer, that you would sign a Deed to the
 “ Proprietaries for all that Tract of Land that
 “ lies within the following Bounds, viz. begin-
 “ ning at *Kittochtinny* Hills where our last Pur-
 “ chase ends on *Susquebannab*, from thence by
 “ the Courfes of the River *Susquebannab* to the
 “ first Mountain north of the Creek called in the
 “ *Onondago* Language *Cantawgky*, and in the
 “ *Delaware* Language *Magbooniaky*, on the said
 “ River *Susquebannab* : This is the western Boun-
 “ dary. Then for the north Boundary, by a
 “ straight Line to be run from that Mountain to
 “ the main Branch of *Delaware* River at the
 “ north Side of the Mouth of *Lechawachsein*,
 “ so as to take in the Waters of *Lechawachsein*.
 “ The east Boundary to be the River *Delaware*
 “ from the North of the *Vishkill* to the *Kittoch-*
 “ *tinny* Hills. The South Boundary to be the
 “ Range of the *Kittochtinny* Hills to the Place
 “ of

“ of beginning; together with the Islands in
 “ the Rivers of *Susquehannab* and *Delaware* in
 “ that Compass. Having received this second
 “ Offer, tho’ neither in this is there any confide-
 “ rable Quantity of good Land, yet, in regard
 “ to your Poverty, more than to the real Value
 “ of the Tract, we sent you Word, that, on
 “ your signing a Deed, we would pay you the
 “ Sum of five Hundred Pounds.”

As to the People settled on *Juniata* the Governor lets the *Indians* know, that it will be no difficult Matter to remove these Intruders, if some of the *Indians* do not give them Countenance; that not above four or five Years ago they had all been removed from *Juniata*, nor would any have presumed to go there since, had they not been favoured by some *Indians*. He instances to them some *Indians* objecting about a Year before to the Removal of the white People settled on the Path leading to *Allegheny*, and tells them that they must not defend, nor invite back, the People that are turned off; and on his Part assures them that he will cause the People to remove. With regard to the *Indian* that was murdered, he informs them, that he had already caused a full and impartial Enquiry to be made how he came by his Death, and that the most probable Conjecture that could be formed was, that the Murder was committed by some of the *Indian’s* own Comrades; that Mr. *Croghan*, the Magistrate before whom the Matter was laid, would have examined the *Indians*, but they would not submit to it, and one of them in particular ran away; that, however, the white People, at whose House the *Indians* got Liquor, were all bound over to Court, and if it appeared that they, or any others, were concerned in the Murder, they should suffer

as if they had killed a white Man. After several Conferences with the Chiefs of the *Indians* concerning the new Purchase of Lands, (of which no Minutes are published) the Limits were at length agreed to by both Sides, and the Consideration Money paid, whereupon the *Indians* executed a Deed for the same.

Whether this Sale of Lands was a Thing agreed upon in the Council at *Onondago*, or whether these Deputies, upon finding their Visit was not like to be agreeable, and that they were to expect no Present without a Sale of some Land, might not, without any particular Orders to that Purpose, undertake of themselves to make this Sale, shall at present be passed over. Nor shall we insist upon what *Canassatego*, in the Name of the Six Nations, declares in the Treaty in 1742, viz. *That after that Time they would sell no Lands but when their Brother Onas was in the Country, and they would know beforehand the Quantity of Goods they were to receive*: They might change their Minds. But, as this Purchase of 1749 is the last which the Proprietaries, or their Agents, have made of the *Indians*, on the east Side of *Susquehannah*, it may not be improper to stop here a little, and collect into one View what relates to the Lands on that Side, in order that we may see whether there be any just Grounds for the Complaints which the *Delaware Indians* lately made of their being cheated out of their Lands. It is true, as the *Indians* have no Writings, nor Records among them, save their Memories and Belts of Wampum, we can only have Recourse to the Minutes taken, and Records kept, by one Party, nay, oftentimes, by those who, if any advantage was taken of the *Indians*, must have been concerned in it, and consequently would not care, by

by minuting every Thing truly, to perpetuate their own Disgrace.

In 1718 we find that an Enquiry was made into Land Affairs by the Proprietary Commissioners and the *Delaware Indian* Chiefs; that the old Deeds were carefully inspected, the Bounds of the Purchases made of the *Indians* at sundry Times fully ascertained; and, to put an End to all Doubts and Disputes for the future, a Deed of Confirmation granted by the *Indians* for all the Lands they had heretofore sold the Proprietaries, namely from *Duck Creek* to the *Lechay Hills* which are southward of the Forks of *Delaware*. In 1722 a Settlement is made at *Tulpyhockin*: In 1728 the *Indians* at a public Treaty complain of it as being on their Land. Upon Examination, and referring back to the foregoing Deed, it is found to be as they say, and they are requested not to molest or injure the People seated there, but to wait till that Matter could be adjusted. Thus the Matter rested till the Proprietor came over in 1732, when this Tract of Land was purchased of the *Indians*. But tho' the Purchases which the Proprietaries had made of the *Indians* were still (except at *Tulpyhockin*) bounded by the *Lechay Hills*, one Gentleman having purchased a Right to 10,000 Acres of unlocated* Lands, found Means to have a Part of these located in the Forks above 30 Miles above the Boundaries in the *Indian Country*. Encouraged by his Example, many others soon after entered, and possessed themselves of the adjacent Country. Of this the *Indians* complained; but instead of paying any Regard to their Complaints a Lottery of Land was set on Foot by the Proprietor in 1734.

* *i. e.* Land in general, the Place or Places where the Right is to be laid among the vacant Lands in the Wilderness, not being yet chosen, nor ascertained by any Survey.

whereby the greatest Part of the Fork Lands, then full of *Indian* Settlements, were offered to Sale. In the mean Time, to amuse the *Indians*, several Conferences are held with some of their Chiefs, viz. one at *Durham*, one at *Pensbury*, and one at *Philadelphia*; but as no Minutes of these Conferences were ever published, and if any were taken, were only entered in the Council Books, to which Access is denied, we should have been at a Loss to know what was there debated and transacted, were it not for a Release granted at the last of these Conferences. In the Preamble of this we are informed, that the Affair of Lands was the Subject of these Conferences; that the Proprietor, in order to settle Matters with the *Indians*, had Recourse, not, as had been done before, to the Deed of 1718, which would have clearly determined the Boundaries between him and the *Indians*, but to a Writing which was produced as a Deed granted by their Forefathers to *William Penn* in 1686; and, to prove the Validity of this, the Evidence of two Persons is taken, who solemnly declared, not that they had seen such a Deed executed, and that this was the very Deed, but that they remembered there was a Treaty held at that Time between the *Indians* and the Agents of *William Penn*. By the Recitals in the Preamble it would appear as if the Deed of 1686 itself had been shewn to the *Indians*, and that the Proprietor had waited patiently till the *Indians* were satisfied of the Truth of it. But the contrary is notorious: For the People, during these Conferences, were settling thick in the Forks, and as to the Deed it is clear there was none shewn. However, the *Indians* being made to believe, that their Forefathers had granted such a Deed, were induced, without any farther Consideration, to sign a Release

answering thereto. There is some Reason to think that the Six Nations had, by their Authority, forced them into this Measure. The Year before, their Deputies had been at *Philadelphia*, and sold the Lands on *Susquehanna*, for which they had received a large Quantity of Goods, and besides a considerable Present. At this Time Complaints were made to them against the *Delawares*, for giving the Province Disturbance about Lands, which, as was said, the Proprietor had purchased from them, and paid for, above 55 Years ago. On their Return home the Deputies, loaded with Presents, passed thro' the *Delaware* Country, and the next Spring some of the *Delawares* came down and signed the Release mentioned above. As the Land granted by this Release was to be measured by a Day and half's Walk, the Proprietor got Men noted for walking, had a Road prepared and laid out with the Compass, and Horses provided to carry them over Rivers, by which Means they were enabled to travel over a prodigious Extent of Country. Nor was the Extent of the Purchase determined by the Journey, which the two Men performed who were first fixed on, but by that of another, who knowing himself capable of performing a great Journey, had, in order to ingratiate himself with the Proprietor, joined the other two, and travelled about six Miles farther than any of them. And, what is still more, from the End of the Walk, instead of drawing a Line by the nearest Course to the River *Delaware*, or parallel to that from which they set out, they run a North-East Course to near the Mouth of the *Lechawacksein*, and by this Means the Boundary Line was carried many Miles beyond the *Lechay* Hills, and took in many Hundred Thousand Acres more than it ought to have done. The *Indians* im-

mediately saw and complained of the Fraud, nor would they give up their Claim, and relinquish their Land, till forced thereto, as we have seen above, by the Six Nation Deputies in 1742. With respect to the Purchase of 1749, it is to be observed, the Deputies of the Six Nations at first of themselves only offer to sell the Lands on the East Side of *Susquehannab*. They never seem to have claimed a Right to sell the Lands on *Delaware*. It is true, fourteen Days after the Deed of 1736 was granted, a few of the *Indians* who remained in Town were drawn in to sign a Writing, declaring, that they meant to extend the Grant to *Delaware*; but this was not an Act of the whole, nor was any Consideration paid, and every Circumstance considered, or only this one, *viz.* how *Indians* commonly debauch themselves with Liquor, after they think publick Business is over, it may be said this was done in a Manner not the farthest removed from all Suspicion of Chicanery. But, however that be, we never find the Six Nations objected to the Sales formerly made by the *Delawares*. At present, as the Proprietary Officers would not buy unless the Tract extended to the *Delaware*, the *Indians* we are told, after holding a Council, agree it shall extend so far: And, no doubt, it was to give a Sanction to the Sale that *Nutimus* and *Qualpagbach*, two *Delaware* Chiefs, were made Parties in the Deed, and drawn in to sign it. But how far an Action, done thro' Compulsion, binds them, or admitting the Action voluntary, yet how far, even in that Case, it would bind a Nation, whose Form of Government is such, that nothing is deemed valid, but what is deliberated and agreed upon in their publick Councils, is easily determined. Again, if it was necessary

cessary to make some of the *Delawares* Parties to the Deed, why were not some of the *Munsey* or *Minisink Indians* also taken in? A large Part of their Country was included in this Grant, yet they are never consulted, not a Deputy is present from their Nation.—

Such are the Facts; each one of them can be proved by publick Records or living Witnesses: Whether then the Complaints of King *Teedyuscung*, who, in a publick Capacity, represents the several Tribes of the *Delawares*, as well as the *Munseys*, &c. who have of late united in one League, and chosen him for their Head; that is, whether the Complaints of all, or any, of these Tribes or Nations of *Indians*, have any just Foundation, let the World judge.—

But to return from this Digression. As the People who had settled on the Lands unpurchased of the Six Nations did not pay Regard to the Governor's Proclamation, it was judged proper to put the Law strictly in Execution against them, and for that Purpose Secretary *Peters* was sent up in May 1750. "On his Way he met with some *Indians*, to whom he imparted his Business: They told him, they were exceedingly pleased to hear he was going to remove those People; that it was an Affair the Council of *Onondago* or the Six Nations had very much at Heart, but they were afraid this would prove like former Attempts; the People would be put off now, and next Year come again; if so, they said the Six Nations would no longer bear it, but would do themselves Justice. After this Mr. *Peters* proceeded, and being accompanied with those *Indians*, broke up the Settlements in *Sherman's Valley*, on *Juniata*, at *Aucquick* (alias *Aughwick*) in the Path Valley and Big Cove, which all lie

Mr. Peters's Report to the Governor.

beyond the *Kittoctinny* Hills, every where dispossessing the People, taking Possession for the Proprietors, and burning the most ordinary Houses and Cabbins. The People of the Little Cove, which was a Part of the unpurchased Lands just on the Borders of *Maryland*, presented him a Petition, addressed to the Governor, praying that they might be allowed to remain there till a Purchase was made of the Lands from the *Indians*. As but few had signed the Petition, he returned it to those who presented it, telling them, when it was signed by more, if it should appear to him that they were North of the temporary Line (*i. e.* in the Bounds of *Pennsylvania*) he would recommend their Case to the Governor." Strange! that he who was sent up to remove those People who were settled on the *Indians* Land, who knew so well how much the *Indians* were irritated at People's settling there, and how warmly they remonstrated against it, nay, who seemed convinced of (and as he himself declares proceeded on) "this as a certain Truth, That, if he did not at this Journey entirely remove these People, it would not be in the Power of the Government to prevent an *Indian* War,"—that, after this, he should undertake to be an Intercessor for such Intruders, or, as he says himself, to recommend their Case to the Governor! But the *Indians* before observed, that Persons sent on that Errand had not been remarkable for doing their Duty; that so far from removing the People, they made Surveys for themselves, and were in League with the Trespassers.

By the Message which the Governor sent to the Assembly with Mr. *Peters's* Report, it appears, that what had been done was like to be of little Avail, and that there would be an absolute
Ne-

Necessity of taking still farther Measures against these Intruders. In short, so little Effect had this, that those who had been spared were spirited up to stay, and others went and settled by them, so that in a few Years the Settlements in the *Indian* Country were more numerous, and farther extended than ever.

In 1753, when the *French* came with an armed Force to take Possession of the Lands on the *Ohio*, and to build a Fort, the Six Nation *Indians*, with the *Shawanese* and *Delawares* on the *Ohio*, seemed very much alarmed, and resolved at all Events to oppose them. Upon first hearing of their coming, they had twice sent Orders to the *French* not to proceed; but finding their Messages had not the desired Effect, they agreed to divide themselves into two Parties, one to go to *Virginia* and *Pensylvania* to request Assistance, and the other to the *French* Commander, with express Orders to quit their Country, otherwise they would declare War against him.

The first Party, having transacted their Business Treaty at with the Governor of *Virginia*, set forward for *Carlisle*, *Pensylvania*, and were met at *Carlisle* by Commis- 1753. sioners appointed by Governor *Hamilton* to treat with them. At this Time they desire that *Pensylvania* and *Virginia* would forbear settling on the *Indian* Lands over the *Allegheny* Hills; so far had People got, tho' as yet no Purchase was made beyond the *Kittocktinny* Mountains. They advise these Governments to call back their People on this Side the Hills. They don't use Threats as had been done before. The Times were critical, and the *Indians* were unwilling to say or do any Thing from which the *English* might have Room to suspect their Friendship. What, therefore, at another Time, they would have insisted on

on in a peremptory Manner, and if we may judge from their former Conduct, enforced with Threats, they now only advise from prudential Motives, and seemingly out of Regard to us, “ left (as they say) Damage should be done, and “ we should think ill of them.” They expressly desire that no People should be allowed to settle on the *Juniata* Lands till Matters are settled between them and the *French*.

After this, desiring the Commissioners to give strict Attention to what they are going to say, as being a Matter of great Moment, they proceed to take Notice, “ That our *Indian* Traders are too numerous and scattered; that the *French* look on their Number at *Ohio* with Envy; they, therefore, desired that the greatest Part of them might be called home, and that three Setts only might remain at the Places which they had appointed for their Residence, viz. *Log's-Town*, the Mouth of *Canawa*, and the Mouth of the *Monongahela*; there, they said, they would protect them, and to these Places they would go and buy Goods, and no where else.” This was what the *Indians* had long in View. They were sensible of their own Weakness, and immoderate Desire of strong Drink, by which they exposed themselves to many Abuses and Inconveniencies. They had frequently complained to the *English* Governments, and desired that some Measures might be taken to prevent Liquors being carried among them in such Quantities, but nothing was done to Purpose: They were told indeed, they might break the Casks, and spill all the Liquor that was brought among them, but this they found by Experience would not do: The Rum-Carriers, as they called the Traders, found Means to elude this. As long, therefore, as these Persons

sons were permitted to go into their Country, they saw clearly that no Remedies could be found out to prevent the Evil they complained of. For this Reason, in 1736, they desired the Traders might be recalled from the *Ohio*, and confined to some one Place on *Susquebannah*: At the subsequent Treaties they renewed this Request, and now fix upon three Places for the Traders to reside, and request that none but honest and sober Men may be suffered to deal with them.

Had this been complied with, the *English* might easily have engrossed the Trade, and secured the Affections, of many of the *Indian* Nations; whereas, by neglecting this, and suffering a Parcel of Banditti, under the Character of Traders, to run up and down from one *Indian* Town to another, cheating and debauching the *Indians*, we have given them an ill Opinion of our Religion and Manners, and lost their Esteem and Friendship.

With what Earnestness the *Indians* desired to have the Trade regulated may be seen from the Speech of the *Indian* Chief to the Commissioners;
 “ Your Traders, says he, bring scarce any
 “ Thing but Rum and Flour: They bring little
 “ Powder and Lead, or other valuable
 “ Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you
 “ would prevent its coming in such Quantities
 “ by regulating the Traders. We never understood
 “ the Trade was to be for Whisky and
 “ Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and
 “ none sold in the *Indian* Country; but that, if
 “ the *Indians* will have any, they may go among
 “ the Inhabitants and deal with them for it.
 “ When these Whisky-Traders come, they bring
 “ thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before
 “ us, and make us drink, and get all the
 “ Skins

“ Skins that should go to pay the Debts we
 “ have contracted for Goods bought of the fair
 “ Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin
 “ ourselves but them too. These wicked Whif-
 “ ky-Sellers, when they have got the *Indians* in
 “ Liquor, make them sell the very Cloaths from
 “ their Backs. In short, if this Practice be con-
 “ tinued, we must be inevitably ruined. We
 “ most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to re-
 “ medy it.”

The Commissioners, not having a Power to re-
 medy these Disorders, promised to lay them be-
 fore the Governor, and represent to him the Ne-
 cessity of those Regulations which the *Indians* de-
 sired should be made. This they accordingly
 did: But, as usual, nothing more was done
 therein.

The Assembly of the Province, after reading
 the above Treaty, and examining several Papers
 and Evidences about *Indian* Affairs, “ bewail the
 “ miserable Situation of our *Indian* Trade car-
 “ ried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of
 “ our own Inhabitants and Convicts imported
 “ from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, by which
 “ Means the *English* Nation is unhappily repre-
 “ sented among our *Indian* Allies in the most
 “ disagreeable Manner. These, continue they,
 “ trade without Controul, either beyond the Li-
 “ mits, or, at least, beyond the Power of our
 “ Laws, debauching the *Indians* and themselves
 “ with spirituous Liquors, which they now make,
 “ in a great Measure, the principal Article of
 “ their Trade, in direct Violation of our Laws,
 “ supplied, as we are informed, by some of the
 “ Magistrates, who hold a Commission under
 “ this Government, and other Inhabitants of
 “ our

“ our back Counties.” Message to the Governor, *February 27. 1754.*

In the Treaty of *Carlisle* we find Mention made of some *Shawanese* being made Prisoners, and confined in *Charles-Town*; to sollicite the Release of whom, *Scarroyady*, the principal *Sachem*, was deputed, and had undertaken to go to *Carolina*: But, as the Commissioners thought that his Presence was very necessary at the *Ohio*, they advised him to return, letting him know, that the Release of the Prisoners would be sooner and more effectually procured by the Interposition of the Governors of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, to whom they would recommend it, than by his personal Solicitation. This was agreed to.—

1754.

The next Summer, by an Order from *England*, a grand Treaty was held with the Six Nations at *Albany*, at which were present Commissioners from most of the Provinces on the Continent. At this Time a Purchase of Lands was made for the Proprietors of *Pensylvania*, which ruined our Interest with the *Indians*, and threw those of them, especially to the westward of us, entirely into the Hands of the *French*. It was bounded northerly by a North-West by West Line, drawn from near *Shamokin* to Lake *Erie*, and to the West and South by the utmost Extent of the Province. By this the Lands, where the *Shawanese* and *Ohio Indians* lived, and the Hunting-Ground of the *Delawares*, the *Nanticokes* and the *Tuteloës*, were included, and consequently these Nations had nothing to expect but to see themselves in a short Time, at the Rate the *English* settled, violently driven from their Lands, as the *Delawares* had formerly been, and reduced to leave their Country, and seek a Settlement they knew not where. This, no doubt, engaged many of these People to give
Ear

Ear to the *French*, who declared that they did not come to deprive the *Indians* of their Land, but to hinder the *English* from settling westward of the *Allegheny Hills*. The Council of the Six Nations were also displeased at this Grant : For it is to be observed, that this Sale or Grant was not made agreeable to the Method which the Deputies of the Six Nations, at the Treaty of 1742, declared they always observed in the Sale of Lands. It was not agreed upon in the Council of *Onondago*, but condemned by them as soon as they heard of it : Neither were there any Deputies from the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, who looked on these Lands as a Part of their Possession guaranteed to them by the *Senecas*. In what Manner, and by what Means, this Grant was obtained, is well known to some who attended the Treaty, as well as the Artifices used for near a Week to induce the *Indians* to execute the Deed.

The People of *Connecticut* had, under Colour of their Charter, laid Claim to some Lands in the North West Part of the Province of *Pennsylvania* ; and, but a short Time before, some Persons had come from thence and made Surveys a little above *Shamokin*. At this Treaty, their Commissioners wanted to treat with the *Indians* about the Purchase of these Lands. The Proprietary Agent hearing this, endeavoured to be before hand, and proposed to purchase the Lands for the Proprietors. The *Indians* refused to sell. Hereupon it was represented to them, that, unless they signed something of a Writing for these Lands to the Proprietary Agent, it would be taken for granted that they had either sold them to the *French*, or intended to sell them to the People of *New-England*. In order, therefore,

to

to remove that Suspicion, some of the *Indians* were, after much Persuasion, by the Interest of a Person known to have a considerable Influence among the *Indians*, or at least those of the *Mohock* Nation, prevailed upon to sign the Release, contrary to the established Custom and Usage of the Six Nations, not so much with a View of conveying the Lands, as to give the Proprietaries Assurance that they would not sell them to any other. Yet even this could not be obtained without some private Presents to particular *Indians* of known Influence and Authority.

In the Fall of this Year *Conrad Weiser* was sent by the Governor to meet at *Aughwick* (or *Aucquick*) the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* who lived on *Ohio*. As he had been very active in the Bargain lately made at *Albany*, it was necessary he should now use his Endeavours to palliate that Transaction, in such a Manner as would give least Umbrage to the Possessors of the Lands, which were thus purchased without their Privy or Consent. The Account he thought proper to give in Writing of this Part of his Business, or at least so much as was laid before the Assembly, is very short. He only says, that at this Meeting he informed the *Indians*, at their own Request, of what was done in the Treaty at *Albany*, and of the Purchase of Land that was made there. They immediately shewed their Dissatisfaction: Soon after this, *Shecalamy* declared, that the *Indians* did not understand the Points of the Compass, but if the Line was so run as to include the western Branch of *Susquehannab* they would never agree to it. But, upon letting them know the *New-England* People's Design, and putting them in Mind, that the *French* had possessed themselves of the *Ohio* Lands, which they might look on

C. Weiser's Journal delivered to the Governor.

as lost to them, he says, " They were content, but would have been more so, if they had received a Part of the Consideration.

And that their Dissatisfaction continued, was soon after very manifest to one of the Proprietary Surveyors, who, being sent to survey some of these Lands, was met with by some of the *Indians*, taken Prisoner to an *Indian* Town, detained till the next Day, and, after divers Consultations held there, conducted back by a Guard towards the *English* Settlements, and made to understand, that, if he came again upon the same Business, he should not be suffered to depart in the same Manner.

It was very unfortunate for the *English* Interest, that, at the same Time the Affections of the *Indians* were alienated from us by the Abuses committed in Trade, and by our dispossessing them of their Lands, their Opinion of our military Abilities was very much lessened. But a few Months before this Treaty at *Aughwick* Colonel *Washington* was defeated, whose Conduct and Behaviour gave so much Offence to the *Indians* that *Thanackbrishon*, a *Seneca* Chief, commonly known by the Title of the *Half King*, as being at the Head of the Western *Indians*, who were dependant on the Six Nations, could not help complaining of it, tho' in a very modest Manner. " The Colonel, he said, was a good natured Man, but had no Experience; he took upon him to command the *Indians* as his Slaves, and would have them every Day upon the Scout, and to attack the Enemy by themselves, but would by no Means take Advice from the *Indians*. He lay in one Place from one Full-Moon to the other, without making any Fortifications, except that little Thing on the Meadow;

Meadow; whereas, had he taken Advice, and built such Fortifications as he (the Half King) advised him, he might easily have beat off the *French*. But the *French*, in the Engagement acted like Cowards and the *English* like Fools."

But, to pass over this, as well as the haughty Manner in which General *Braddock*, who arrived the Year following, behaved to the *Indians*, whereby we lost the Friendship of many who had hitherto remained steady in our Interest; nor to mention his mournful Defeat, which soon after happened, and confirmed the *Indians* in the Opinion they had conceived of our Want of Prudence and Skill in War; we see from this Review, and Detail of Facts, that the Complaints of the *Indians* are by no Means new, that the Grounds of their Uneasiness have been of long standing, and that they have complained of, and thought themselves aggrieved in, the Death of *Weekweley*, the *Delaware* Chief, who was hanged in the *Ferseys*; in the Imprisonment of the *Shawanese* Warriors in *Carolina*, where the principal Man died; and in the Abuses received from the *Indian* Traders, and the Injustice done them in respect of their Lands; all which, except that of the Trade, which is not mentioned, exactly correspond with the Account given by the Deputies of the Six Nations at the late Treaty at *Lancaster*, when called upon to declare if they knew the Cause of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* making War upon the *English*.

No doubt, the critical Conjunction of Affairs, the Solicitations and Promises of the *French*, together with the Success that had hitherto attended their Arms, might induce the *Indians* to fall upon the *English* at this particular Time, as being the most favourable Opportunity of taking

Revenge : But still the Wrongs and Abuses they had suffered were what inflamed their Resentment, and, as they say themselves, made the Blow fall the heavier. And, if we examine, we shall find that the several neighbouring Nations, as they have imagined themselves more or less aggrieved, have shewn their Resentment by acting more or less vigorously against us. The several Tribes of the *Delawares*, who were deprived of their Lands, and driven from their Homes and Settlements in the Forks, and so ignominiously treated and expelled the Council, and above all the *Munseys* or *Minisink Indians*, whose Lands were taken from them without any Shadow of Justice, now took a severe Revenge. The *Shaw-aneze*, who had, with others, complained in vain of the Traders, who saw themselves deprived first of their Hunting-Ground on *Juniata*, afterwards of their whole Country by the Purchase in 1754, were not much behind the former in their cruel Incurfions. The Backwardness of the *Senecas* to accommodate the Difference and heal the Breach when once made, or rather the Encouragement and Support they gave the *Indians* who declared themselves our Enemies, may easily be attributed to their Resentment at seeing the Lands westward of the *Kittocktinny Hills*, which they considered as more particularly under their Care, unjustly invaded, their Complaints and Remonstrances little regarded, and, lastly, the great Purchase in 1754 made without their Consent and Approbation.

But still it remains a Question, whether all the *Delawares* would have declared themselves our Enemies, had it not been for the imprudent Conduct of one *Charles Bragadead*, of *Northampton County*. *Teedyuscung* declares, that, by this
young

young Man, he was surprized into the War before he had Time to think ; that, after the first Incurfion made on the *Engliſh* by the western *Delawares* and other *Indians* from *Ohio*, that Man came to *Wyoming*, and (tho' he had no Authority) as if commiſſioned ſo to do, charged him and his People with beginning Hoſtilities, threatened them in a very high Strain, and told them the *Engliſh* were preparing to take a ſevere Revenge. The *Indians*, alarmed at this, immediately deſired the ſame *Broadhead* to carry a Meſſage from them to the Governor of *Penſylvania*, to aſſure him of their Friendſhip, and to bring them an Answer. This he neglected to do, ſo that when the *Indians* had waited the Time appointed for an Answer, and found none ſent, they were perſuaded that all was true that *Broadhead* had told, and thereupon prepared to defend themſelves, and, being infligated thereto by the *French*, choſe rather to attack than be attacked. But when they were thus ſuddenly drawn into the War, the Maltreatment they had formerly met with immediately recurred to their Memory, awakened Reſentment and armed them with double Fury.

Having thus traced the Grounds of the *Indians* Uneaſineſs, and the Cauſes of the War, it remains to ſhew the Meaſures taken to make up the Breach, and the Method which the *Indians* propoſe for ſecuring a real and laſting Peace.

The *Indians* on *Suſquehannah*, about the Beginning of the preſent Quarrel between *England* and *France*, conſidering their Situation and divided State, every Tribe being a diſtinct and independant Government, plainly ſaw that their Force could not be great, and that they might one by one be eaſily cruſhed, they, therefore,

resolved to new-model their Government, and out of the several Tribes to form one Nation: Accordingly the *Munseys*, and two Tribes of the *Delawares*, viz. the *Lenopi* and *Wanami*, joined together in a League, and chose a Chief, Sachem or King, into whose Hands they put the Management of their Affairs. Those who had been Sachems before, now willingly, for the Sake of the publick Good, resigned their Dignity, contenting themselves with a Place in the Council. *Teedyuscung* was the Person chosen King: He immediately appointed Captains, and regulated the Force of the Nation. Soon afterwards a Number of straggling *Indians*, who lived up and down without any Chief, joined in and strengthened the Alliance. By this Means, and the Junction of some of the *Mohiccons*, or River *Indians* and *Shawanese*, *Teedyuscung* soon saw himself at the Head of a very considerable Body. In this Manner he resolved to wait and see what Turn Affairs would take, and, when it was determined to attack the *English*, he took his Measures so, that, at the same Time, the Frontiers of *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-Jerseys*, were ravaged and destroyed.

Easton
Treaty,
1736.
Fol. 21.

General
Johnson's
Treaty
with the
Mohawks,
&c. Lond.
Edit.
Fol. 3.

Upon the first Notice of the Incursions of the *Indians*, the Governor of *New-York* sent an Express to General *Johnson* with the News. Hereupon General *Johnson*, who was just returned from *Lake George*, sent to the Six Nations to meet him immediately, and, on the 7th of *December*, some of the *Mohawks*, *Senecas*, *Oneidas* and *Tuscarorzas*, came to his House, to whom he made known the Hostilities committed by the *Shawanese*, *Delawares*, and River *Indians*, viz. the *Munseys* or *Mohiccons*; "As these *Indians*,
" says he, are looked upon by us as Allies and
" De-

“ Dependants of you the Six Nations, and living within the Limits of your Country, I must desire you will, without Loss of Time, reprimand them for what they have already done, prevent their doing any more Mischief, and insist on their turning their Arms with us against the *French* and their *Indians*, both your and our common Enemies, and that without Loss of Time.”

Immediately after this the Six Nations dispatched some Messengers to the *Delawares*, to know the Cause why they made War on the *English*, and to command them to desist. About the same Time, namely in *December 1755*, *Scarroyady*, an *Indian* Chief, and another *Indian*, were sent from *Philadelphia* to the Six Nation Council, to lay before them the hostile Proceedings of the *Shawanese* and *Delawares*. These, in order to find out the Dispositions of the Enemy, directed their Course up the *Susquehannah*. All the Way to *Wyomen* they found the *Indians* against us, and saw some Parties going to War, whom they endeavoured, but in vain, to stop. At an *Indian* Town, about 30 Miles above *Wyomen*, they met *Teedyuscung*, who told them, he had sent to the *Senecas* and *Oneidas* for Assistance against the *English*, but had not received an Answer; that he was going to send again to the Six Nations, to which Message if he did not receive an Answer, he said, he should know what to do. From hence the Deputies proceeded to *Diakogo*, where they met the Messengers dispatched to the *Delawares* by the *Oneidas*, *Cayugas* and *Mohawks*, at the Instance of General *Johnson*. Here the Messengers of the Six Nations delivered what they had to say to the *Delaware* Council, who, in their Answer, expressed

Scarroyady's Account of his Journey, read in the Assembly April 10. 1756.

their Submission to the Six Nations, and said they would send some of their Chiefs with them to the Six Nation Council, which they accordingly did. When they arrived there, the Council sharply reprehended the *Delawares*, and ordered them to desist. The *Delawares* endeavoured to justify their Conduct by the ill Usage they had met with from the *English*: However they promised to inform their Nation and Warriors of what the Six Nations said, and would return an Answer speedily.

From *Diabogo*, *Scarroyady* and his Companion proceeded to Fort *Johnson*, where, in February 1756, was a Meeting of about 580 of the Six Nations and their Allies. At this Meeting Col. *Johnson* again pressed the Six Nations to put a Stop to the Incursions and Ravages of the *Delawares* which still continued. At first they seemed to wave the Matter: But, upon its being again more warmly recommended to them, they at last agree that some Delegates from the Six Nations should use their utmost Endeavours to accommodate the Matter between the *English* and *Delawares*, and for that Purpose sent a Message to the *Delawares* to come and meet them at *Otsaningo*, an Indian Town on *Susquebannah*. The *Delawares* came, and a Meeting was held, at which “the Deputies of the Six Nations charged
“ the *Delawares* to get sober; as they looked
“ upon their Actions as the Actions of drunken
“ Men.” The *Delawares* returned for Answer,
“ That they looked upon themselves as Men and
“ would acknowledge no Superiority that any
“ other Nation had over them. We are Men,
“ and are determined not to be ruled any longer
“ by you as Women; and we are determined to
“ cut off all the *English*, except those that make
their

Lancaster
Treaty,
1757.
Philadel-
phia print-
ed.
Fol. 12.

“ their Escape from us in Ships ; so say no more
 “ to us on that Head, lest we make Women of
 “ you as you have done of us. In the mean
 “ Time, tho’ they did not any longer acknow-
 “ ledge the Six Nations in general as their Un-
 “ cles, they said, they would listen to what the
 “ *Senecas* said.” It is to be observed, that the
Senecas, tho’ pressed by Sir *William Johnson*,
 and the other five Nations, would not under-
 take to accommodate this Difference, but rather
 countenanced and encouraged the *Delawares*.
 The most probable Reasons for their so doing
 have been before assigned. The resolute An-
 swer of the *Delawares*, and the known Encou-
 ragement they received from the *Senecas*, con-
 vinced the Six Nation Deputies that nothing was
 to be done by Threats ; therefore, changing their
 Stile, they, by smoother Measures, prevailed
 with the *Delawares* to agree to a Cessation of
 Arms, and to meet them and Col. *Johnson* to
 treat farther about a Peace.

At the Time the Six Nation Messengers set
 out to invite the *Delawares* to a Council at *Ot-
 saningo*, *Scarroyady* set out on his Return to *Phi-
 ladelphia*, where, having arrived in *April* 1756,
 he gave the Governor an Account of his Em-
 bassy. A few Days after this, the Governor,
 without waiting the Result of the Council at *Ot-
 saningo*, finding that the *Delawares* still continued
 their Ravages, declared War against them, of-
 fering a Reward for Scalps and Prisoners.

Some Days before the War was declared,
 some of the People called *Quakers* in *Philadelphia*
 addressed the Governor, requesting him to sus-
 pend the Declaration of War till some farther
 pacific Measures were tried, and offering, both
 with their Estates and Persons, to contribute

their Assistance therein ; but War was declared : Some of this People, nevertheless, with the Governor's Leave, had several Meetings with *Scarroyady* and other *Indian* Chiefs then in *Philadelphia*, *Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour* the Provincial Interpreters, and *Daniel Claus*, General *Johnson's* Deputy-Secretary, being present. In the Course of the Conversation some Things passed which gave Room to hope, that the Difference between the *Delawares* and *English* might be accommodated in an amicable Manner. And *Scarroyady* being requested to give his Advice how to effect so desirable a Work, proposed to send three *Indians*, two of whom, viz. Captain *Newcastle* and *Jagrea* were of the Council of the Six Nations, and one, viz. *William Loquis*, a *Delaware*, to *Wyomen*, to let the *Delawares* know, " There were a People " risen in *Philadelphia*, who desired to have " Peace restored, and that they must cease from " doing Mischief, and not be afraid, but be " willing, to come and treat with the *English*." Of this the Governor was informed, and, during the Conferences, having received Advice from the Governor of *New-York* of what had passed at *Otsaningo*, of the proposed Meeting between Sir *William Johnson* and the *Delawares*, he agreed to the dispatching the three *Indian* Messengers ; and, when they were ready to set out, he delivered them a Message to the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* *Indians* living on *Susquehannab* ; the Purport of which was, that he had, by Means of the Governor of *New-York*, received an Account from Sir *William Johnson* of the Meeting at *Otsaningo*, and of the Cessation of Arms there agreed ; that if the *Delawares* would deliver up the *English* Prisoners to the Six Nations, and
hearken

hearken to their Advice, in laying down the Hatchet, and abide by such Terms as should be agreed on, tho' much Blood was spilt, and the *English*, in Resentment of this, were well prepared to avenge themselves, yet they had so great Regard to the Six Nations, that it will be in their Power to persuade the *English* not to prosecute the War, but to accept fair, just and honourable Terms; that he himself was for Peace, and that a great Number of People, the Descendants of those who came over with the first Proprietor, were desirous to interpose with the Government, to receive the Submission of the *Delawares*, and to overlook what was past, and re-establish Peace, and had frequently applied to him for that Purpose. The *Delaware* Messenger was also to inform his Countrymen of the kind Treatment those of their Tribe, who lived among us, had received.

The Messengers went, delivered their Message, and on the 31st of *May* brought back an Answer from *Teedyuscung*, that he was willing to renew the Treaties of Friendship which *William Penn* had made with his Forefathers; that he and his People had agreed to what the Delegates of the Six Nations had required of them at *Osangingo*; that they begged what was past might be forgotten; that they had laid down the Hatchet, and would never make Use of it any more against the *English*.

After the Delivery of this Message, the Governor delayed returning an Answer for several Days, at which the Messengers were very uneasy, and informed *Conrad Weiser*, that they were apprehensive their long Stay would make the *Diabogo Indians* (*viz.* those to and from whom they had carried the foregoing Messages) believe, that they

Minutes
of Coun-
cil deli-
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bly.

they were either cut off by the *English*, or that this Government did not mean to conclude a Treaty with them. Whereupon the Governor, on the 8th of *June*, dispatched them back to *Diabogo* with a Message to inform the *Indians*, that he thanked them for the kind Reception they had given his Messengers; that he was glad to find they had hearkened to his Message; that, as they, on their Parts, had confirmed the Treaties and Leagues of Amity subsisting between them and this Government, so he, on his Part, ratified all former Treaties and Engagements; and that they might have an Opportunity of making these mutual Declarations at a publick Convention, he desired they would meet him at *Conrad Weiser's*, assuring them that they should come and go unmolested, &c. but that he desired that nothing proposed by him should interfere with any Invitation they might have received from Sir *William Johnson*, or the Six Nations; that, as a Council was to be held in the Country of the Six Nations, and the *Indians* at *Diabogo* were invited to it, he desired they would give their Attendance there, but that they might go to either Place as they inclined.

After this a Cessation of Hostilities against the Northern *Indians* for 30 Days was proclaimed at *Philadelphia*; but it happened very unfortunately, that, at the same Time a Cessation of Arms was proclaimed in *Pennsylvania*, War was declared against the same *Indians* in *New-Jersey*, and a Company of Men sent against *Wyomen*, one of their Towns. The News of this was brought to *Bethlehem* just as the Messengers were setting out from thence; they, therefore, waited at *Bethlehem* till they heard that the Party of Men from the *Jerseys* having been at *Wyomen*, and
burned

burned the Town, which had been before deserted, were returned, and then they set forward and met *Teedyuscung* at *Diabogo*.

He was then holding a Treaty with the De-
puties of the Six Nations, who had now agreed
to acknowledge the Independency of the *Del-*
awares, and the Authority of *Teedyuscung* over
four Nations, viz. the *Lenopi* and *Wanami* (two
Delaware Nations) the *Munseys* and the *Mobic-*
cons, but requested him and his People not to
act of themselves, but advise with the Six Na-
tions; that by uniting their Councils and Strength
they might the better promote the general Inte-
rest of the *Indians*. They told *Teedyuscung* the
English and *French* were fighting for their Lands,
and desired him to unite with them to defend
them. At the same Time they gave him a large
Belt with several Figures wrought in it. "In the
" middle was a Square, meaning the Lands of
" the *Indians*, and at the one End the Figure of
" a Man indicating the *English*, and at the other
" End another meaning the *French*; both these,
" said they, covet our Lands, but let us join to-
" gether to defend our Lands against both, and
" you shall be Partakers with us of our Lands."
The Proposal was too advantageous not to be ac-
cepted. *Teedyuscung* therefore immediately agreed
to it, and, in Conjunction with the Six Na-
tions, concerted a Plan for bringing about a Peace
with the *English*, and for securing their Lands.
As it had been before agreed upon at *Olsaningo*
to meet Sir *William Johnson*, *Teedyuscung* dispatch-
ed *Nutimus*, who had formerly been a King of
one of the *Delaware* Tribes, with some of his
People, to meet Sir *William*, and gave them Or-
ders how to act, while he himself prepared to
meet the Governor of *Pensylvania*. This he as-
sumed

Easton
Treaty,
Aug.
1756.
Philadel-
phia print-
ed, p. 10,
14.

sumed to himself as being the most dangerous and hazardous Enterprize, as he was obliged to go into the inhabited Part of the Country, and among a People who could not but be much incensed against him for the Ravages that had been committed by his People. Nor was this only the most hazardous ; it likewise required the greatest Address, as with that Government the Affairs of the greatest Importance were to be transacted. The Six Nations impowered him to act for them as a Plenipotentiary, promising to ratify whatever he should do.

On the second of *July* the *Delaware* Embassy, who were joined by *Packsinosa* the old *Shawanese* King, met Sir *William Johnson* at *Onondago*, and from thence proceeded to *Fort Johnson*, where, on the 10th of the same Month, a Treaty was held. At this Sir *William Johnson* painted the Murders and Devastations they had committed in strong Colours, reproached them for their Conduct, and, after imputing it to the Artifices of the *French*, told them, “that by Virtue of a Power received from his Majesty, if they were sincerely disposed to continue his Majesty’s dutiful Children, and to maintain their Fidelity towards him, and unbroken Peace and Friendship towards all his Subjects, and their Brethren the *English* in these Parts, and would exert their unfeigned Zeal and best Endeavours to reclaim those of their People who had been deluded by the *French*, upon these Conditions he was ready to renew the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship.” To this the *Delaware* Chief calmly replied, that “he had carefully attended to what was said, that it was pleasing to him, but he could not take upon him to give a determinate Answer, that he
“ would

Sir Will.
Johnson’s
Treaty
with the
Shawanese
and Dela-
ware Indi-
ans, 1756.

“ would punctually deliver the Speech to all his
 “ Nation on his Return home, and that their
 “ fixed Resolutions and positive Answer should
 “ be returned as soon as possible.”

Upon receiving this Answer, Sir *William* summoned a Council of the *Indians* of the Six Nations who attended the Treaty, and informed them of the Reply he intended to make, and said he expected they would second him therein. They told him, they would speak to the *Delawares*, and prepare them for what he intended to say, and at the same Time press them to declare their real Intentions.

The next Day Sir *William*, addressing the *Delaware* Chief, let him know, “that what he had answered yesterday was somewhat surprizing, as his Nation had been the Aggressors, and the *English* the injured Party ; that the present State of Affairs between the *English* and his People required a speedy and determinate Issue ; that he had received Accounts that Hostilities were still continued by some of the *Delawares*, and that therefore it was requisite that he should, without Delay, explain himself in behalf of his Nation, in such an explicit and satisfactory Manner, that his Majesty’s injured Provinces might know what Part was proper for them to act, and that he might depend upon it, they would not continue tamely to bear the bloody Injuries which they had for some Time past suffered.”

Upon this, the *Delaware* Chief made Answer, that his People had already ceased from Hostilities, that they would follow the Example of the Six Nations, that they would take hold of the Covenant Chain that bound together the *English* and Six Nations, that they renounced the Friendship of the *French*, and as Sir *William Johnson* had

had used the *Mobiccons* well, he promised to deliver up what *English* Prisoners were among his People.' After this, Sir *William* having expressed his Satisfaction at what was said, offered them the Hatchet against the *French*, which they accepted, and immediately sung the War Song and danced; and upon their Return, as the *Shawanese* King afterwards told Sir *William Johnson*, they informed *Teedyuscung* of what was done.

Sir William's
Treaty with the
Shawane-
se, &c.
Ap. 1759,
fo. 9.

While these things were doing, *Teedyuscung* having taken the * most proper Measures to secure himself from Danger, and to be revenged, if any Injury was offered him, set out with the Messengers, to meet with the Governor of *Pennsylvania*. On the 18th of July, he arrived at *Bethlehem*, where he stopped, and sent some of his People with Captain *Newcastle* to *Philadelphia*, to inform the Governor of his Arrival, and to let him know, he should be glad to meet him in the *Forks*, and that he came empowered to speak not only in Behalf of his own People, but also of the Six United Nations.

Minutes
of Council
delivered
to the As-
sembly.

Captain *Newcastle* having arrived with this Message, pressed the Governor to lose no Time. " I have, said he, been entrusted by you, with Matters of the highest Concern; I now declare to you, that I have used all the Abilities I am Master of, in the Management of them, and that with the greatest Chearfulness. " I tell you in general, Matters look well. I " shall not go into Particulars. *Teedyuscung*

* He left Parties of his Warriors between the Settlements of *Pennsylvania* and *Wyomen*, encamped at such Distance from each other, that in Case of his receiving any Injury, they might soon know and revenge it.

“ will do this at a public Meeting, which he
 “ expects will be soon. The Times are dange-
 “ rous, the Sword is drawn and glittering, all
 “ around you, Numbers of *Indians* on your Bor-
 “ ders ; I beseech you, therefore, not to give
 “ any Delay, to this important Affair. Say
 “ where the Council Fire is to be kindled. Come
 “ to a Conclusion immediately ; let us not wait
 “ a Moment, lest what has been done, should
 “ prove ineffectual.” The solemn manner in
 which this was delivered, affected the Governor,
 not less than the Speech itself. Accordingly, by
 Capt. *Newcastle's* Advice, *Easton* was fixed upon
 for the place of Meeting, where the Governor,
 and four of his Council, three Commissioners
 from the Assembly, and about forty Citizens of
 the City of *Philadelphia*, chiefly of the People
 called Quakers, met the *Indians*, on the 28th of
July.

At the first Meeting, the Governor gave *Teedy-*
uscung, and his People, a hearty Welcome, and
Teedyuscung informed him, that he came authoriz-
 ed to speak in Behalf of Ten Nations, as an Em-
 bassador from the Six Nations, and as a Chief or
 Head of the other Four ; that he was now only
 to hear what the Governor had to say, and make
 a Report of it to the Ten united Nations.

Easton
 Treaty in
 July and
 August
 1756.

Hereupon, the Governor, the Day following,
 informed the *Indians* of the Steps he had taken,
 after the *Delawares* had begun to commit Hosti-
 lities, of the Preparations he had made to carry
 the War into their Country, from which he was
 diverted by the Six Nations, who informed him,
 that at their Interposition, the *Delawares* had laid
 down the Hatchet ; after this, he informed them
 of the several Messages he had sent by Captain
Newcastle, and the other *Indian* Messengers, and
 of

of the Answers he had received, and assured them, that Captain *Newcastle* acted by his Authority. He let them know, that he, and the People, were well disposed to renew the antient Friendship, that subsisted between *William Penn* and the *Indians*, and desired this might be told to the Six Nations, and all the *Indians* far and near, whom he invited to come and meet him at the Council Fire, but insisted, that as an Evidence of their Sincerity, and the only Terms on which they might expect a true and lasting Peace, they should bring down the Prisoners.

When the Governor had ended his Speech, *Teedyuscung* took out the Belt he had received from the Six Nations, explained it to the Governor, and told him, that Belt held together Ten Nations, who were under the Direction of two Chiefs only, that these had their Attention fixed to see, who were really disposed for Peace; that whoever was willing to guarantee these Lands to the *Indians*, him they would join; but whoever would not comply with these Terms of Peace, the Ten Nations would join against him and strike him. “Whoever, says he, will make Peace, let him lay hold of this Belt, and the Nations around, shall see and know it.—I wish the same good Spirit, that possessed the good old *William Penn*, may inspire the People of this Province, at this Time.” The Governor accepted the Belt, and declared, he was most heartily disposed to effect the Meaning of it; and in return gave *Teedyuscung* another, and desired him to shew it every where, and to make known the good Dispositions of the People of this Government, and the Treatment he had met with, to his own People, the Six Nations, and all his Allies. And having before requested *Teedyuscung* to be an Agent

gent for the Province among the *Indians*, he took out two Belts joined together, and addressing *Newcastle* and *Teedyuscung*, declared them Agents for the Province, and gave them Authority to do the public Business together. He recommended to them mutual Confidence, Esteem and Intimacy, and wished them Success in their Negotiations. They undertook the Charge, promised to be mutual good Friends, and do every Thing in their Power to promote the weighty Matters entrusted to them.

After the Treaty *Teedyuscung* returned to his Country, and Captain *Newcastle* to *Philadelphia*, from whence he was soon after dispatched by the Governor, by the Way of *Albany*, to the Six Nations. And, not long after, returning from thence, he was seized with the Small-Pox, and died at *Philadelphia* much lamented. In the mean Time *Teedyuscung* sent Messengers to the several Tribes of *Indians* under his Jurisdiction, and to the Six Nations, to inform them of the Reception he had met with, and to invite them to another Meeting. Just as he was ready to set out he received a Message from *Fort Johnson*, advising him against going to *Pensylvania*. But as *Teedyuscung* paid no Regard to the first Message, another was sent, desiring the *Indians* not to go to *Pensylvania*, for that Letters were come from *Philadelphia*, informing that a Plot was laid to cut them off as soon as any considerable Number could be got together. This overtook *Teedyuscung* on his March, and being delivered in publick, had such an Effect upon many that were with him, that they immediately turned back. *Teedyuscung* neither altogether gave Credit to the Message, nor yet quite disbelieved it, so that while he determined to proceed, he re-

solved to take what Steps were necessary to guard against the worst. Therefore sending back the greatest Part of the Women and Children, he came down with his own and a few other Families, having left some of his ablest Captains and bravest Warriors at proper Places on the Frontiers, to wait for Accounts how he was received, and to act accordingly. Some Time before *Teedyuscung* came down, Lord *London* had wrote to the Governor, and forbade him, or his Government, to confer or treat with the *Indians* in any Shape, or on any Account, whatever; and directed that whatever Business in that Branch of his Majesty's Service should arise in his Government, or Province, should be referred to Sir *William Johnson*, whom his Majesty had appointed sole Agent for these Affairs under his Lordship's Direction. When, therefore, the Governor received the News of *Teedyuscung's* Arrival, he was greatly at a Loss what to do, and applied for Advice to the Assembly, who were then sitting. The Assembly gave it as their Opinion, that the Treaty begun by the late Governor, before Sir *William Johnson's* Powers were made known, in pursuance of which the *Indians* were come down, should not be wholly discontinued, lest the *Indians* should be disgusted, and the Opportunity of bringing them to a general Peace with all the *British* Colonies lost. "We rather think it adviseable that
 " your Honour would give them an Interview,
 " make them the customary Presents in behalf of
 " this Government, to relieve their Necessities,
 " and assure them of our sincere Inclinations to
 " take them again into Friendship, forgive their
 " Offences, and make a firm Peace with them;
 " but at the same Time to let them know, that
 " the Government of this Province cannot agree
 " to

“ to make a Peace with them for itself, and leave
 “ them at Liberty to continue the War with our
 “ Brethren of the neighbouring Colonies ; that
 “ our King has appointed Sir *William Johnson* to
 “ manage these general Treaties for all the Go-
 “ vernments in this Part of *America*, and to him we
 “ must therefore refer the *Indians* for a final Con-
 “ clusion and Ratification of this Treaty. An
 “ Interview of this Kind with the *Indians*, we
 “ apprehend, may at this Time be greatly for
 “ his Majesty’s Service, and not inconsistent with
 “ the Intention of Lord *Loudon*’s Letter.”

Votes of
 the Assem-
 bly for
 1756, p.
 24.

Teedyuscung having, about the latter End of
October, arrived with a Number of *Delawares*,
Shawanese and *Mohiccons*, and some Deputies
 from the Six Nations, the Governor, with his
 Secretary, and one of his Council, four Com-
 missioners appointed by the Assembly, and a
 Number of Citizens of the City of *Philadelphia*,
 chiefly of the People called Quakers, met him
 at *Easton* on the 8th of *November*. After seve-
 ral Days had been spent to little Purpose, it was
 proposed to ask the *Indians* the Cause of their
 Uneasiness, to which the Governor having agreed,
 the following Paragraph was added to the Speech
 he had already prepared.

“ Brother *Teedyuscung*, what I am now going
 “ to say should have been mentioned some Time
 “ ago : I now desire your strict Attention to it.
 “ You was pleased to tell me the other Day that
 “ the League of Friendship, made by your Fore-
 “ fathers, was yet fresh in your Memory ; you
 “ said that it was made so strong that a small
 “ Thing could not easily break it. As we are
 “ now met together at a Council Fire kindled
 “ by both of us, and have promised on both
 “ Sides to be free and open to one another, I
 “ must ask you how that League of Friendship

Easton
 Treaty,
 Nov.
 1756, p.
 20.

“ came to be broken? Have we the Gover-
 “ nor or People of *Pensylvania* done you any
 “ Kind of Injury? If you think we have,
 “ you should be honest, and tell us your Hearts :
 “ You should have made Complaints before you
 “ struck us, for so it was agreed in our antient
 “ League. However, now the great Spirit has
 “ thus happily brought us once more together,
 “ speak your Mind plainly on this Head, and
 “ tell us, if you have any just Cause of Com-
 “ plaint, what it is. That I may obtain a full
 “ Answer to this Point, I give you this Belt of
 “ Wampum.”

In answer to this, *Teedyuscung* assigned three
 Causes ; first, the imprudent Conduct of *Charles*
Broadhead, which has been already mentioned.
 Secondly, the Instigations of the *French*. And,
 lastly, (which made the Blow fall the harder) the
 Grievances he and his People suffered from this
 Government and the *Jerseys*.

The Governor calling upon him to explain
 what these Grievances were,

“ I have not, says he, far to go for an In-
 “ stance ; this Ground that is under me, (stamp-
 “ ing with his Foot) is mine, and has been
 “ taken from me by Fraud and Forgery.” The
 Governor asked him what he meant by Fraud
 and Forgery. To which he replied, “ When
 “ one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase
 “ Lands, and he took a Deed from the *Indians*
 “ for it, and then dies, if, after his Death, his
 “ Children forge a Deed like the true One, with
 “ the same *Indians* Names to it, and thereby
 “ take Lands from the *Indians* which they never
 “ sold : This is Fraud. Also when one King
 “ has Lands beyond the River, and another has
 “ Lands on this Side, both bounded by Rivers,
 “ Creeks and Springs, which cannot be moved,
 “ and

“ and the Proprietaries, greedy to purchase Lands,
 “ buy of one King what belongs to the other :
 “ This likewise is Fraud.”

“ Have you, said the Governor, been served
 “ so? Yes, replied *Teedyuscung*, I have been
 “ served so in this Province. All the Land ex-
 “ tending from *Tobacco* over the great Moun-
 “ tain as far as *Wyomen* is mine, of which some
 “ has been taken from me by Fraud. For when
 “ I agreed to sell the Land to the old Proprie-
 “ tary by the Course of the River, the young
 “ Proprietaries came and got it run by a straight
 “ Course by the Compass, and by that Means
 “ took in double the Quantity intended to be
 “ sold.”

It may be deemed foreign to the Purpose to mention the Opposition that was made by Secretary *Peters* and *C. Weiser* to the asking the *Indians* the Cause of their Uneasiness, and how the Secretary threw down his Pen, and declared he would take no Minutes when the King came to complain of the Proprietaries. These Things, therefore, being passed over, we shall only observe, that, after some Debate, it was agreed upon, at the Instance of the Commissioners, to offer the *Indians* immediate Satisfaction for the Injury they supposed had been done them, whether their Claim was just or not. This being done, *Teedyuscung* let the Governor know, that the main Design of his present Coming was to re-establish Peace, after which he had intended at another Meeting to lay open his Grievances; that he had done that now only at the Request of the Governor, but was not impowered to receive any Satisfaction at this Time; that several were absent who were concerned in these Lands; that he would endeavour to bring these down at the

next Meeting, and that then the Matter might be further considered and finally settled.

Votes of
the Assem-
bly, Jan.
1757.

A few Weeks after this Treaty arrived in *Philadelphia* Mr. *George Croghan*, whom Sir *William Johnson* had appointed his Deputy-Agent of *Indian* Affairs, and by Instructions, dated *November 24th*, 1756, had ordered "to proceed to *Philadelphia*, or to any Part of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and endeavour to find out the Disposition of the *Indians* in those Parts, and convince them that it is their Interest to continue Friends to the *English* and Six Nations; to enquire into the Cause of the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* Behaviour to the *English* in those Parts, and assure them, if they would come and let Sir *William Johnson* know wherein they were injured, he would endeavour to have Justice done them, so that that unhappy Difference might be settled."

G. Cro-
ghan's
Letter to
the Go-
vernor.
Votes of
Assembly,
Jan. 1757,
P. 63.

Of this Mr. *Croghan*, soon after his Arrival, informed the Governor, and at the same Time gave it as his Opinion, considering what had passed at the last Treaty, that this Government could not avoid giving the *Indians* a Meeting to settle the Differences that subsisted between them. He farther assured the Governor, he would do every Thing in his Power to settle these Differences in an amicable Manner, and in the mean Time would let Sir *William Johnson* know that the *Indians* were to meet here, and expected to receive his farther Instructions on that Head; and as he thought it necessary the Meeting should be held soon, he proposed sending Messengers to *Teedyuscung*, and the *Susquehannab Indians*, as soon as possible.

Accordingly Messengers were sent with two Messages; one to the *Shawanese*, *Nanticokes*,
and

and Six Nations, living at *Otsaningo* and *Diabogo*, and the other to *Teedyuscung*; which are as follows:

George Croghan to the Chiefs of the Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Six Nations.

“ Brethren of the *Shawanese*, *Nanticokes*, and
 “ Six Nations, living at *Otsaningo* and *Diabogo*! I
 “ am come here about a Month ago from Sir
 “ *William Johnson*, who is charged with the
 “ Care of all the *Indians* in this Part of *Ameri-*
 “ *ca*, by the great King of *England*, your Fa-
 “ ther and his Master. On my Arrival here,
 “ your Brother *Onas* shewed me a Copy of the
 “ Conferences he had with you at *Easton*; where
 “ I find you have agreed to have another Meet-
 “ ing in the Spring in order to finally settle all
 “ Differences subsisting between you and your
 “ Brethren the *English*, and to brighten the an-
 “ tient Chain of Friendship which has lately
 “ contracted some Rust. And as your Brother
 “ Sir *William Johnson* sent me here to enquire
 “ into the Causes of the Differences subsisting
 “ between you and your Brethren the *English* in
 “ these Parts, I promise you in his Name, that
 “ I will do every Thing in my Power to settle
 “ these Differences between you, and see full Sa-
 “ tisfaction made you for any Injustice you have
 “ received; and that this Meeting may be the
 “ more general, and for the better settling all
 “ Differences, I call a few of your chief Men to
 “ meet me at *John Harris’s*, to consult on Mea-
 “ sures for bringing to this general Meeting some
 “ of the Chiefs of our Brethren from *Ohio*, in
 “ order once more to brighten the ancient Chain

“ of Friendship. In confirmation of which I
 “ send you this Belt of Wampum in the Name
 “ of Sir *William Johnson*, your Brother *Onas*,
 “ and the Descendants of the first Settlers who
 “ came over with your antient Brother *William*
 “ *Penn*, with whom you began this good Work
 “ at *Easton* this Fall past.”

The other Message follows in these Words :

George Croghan to the Delawares at Diahogo,
 and all the Branches of Susquehannah.

“ Brother *Teedyuscung*, when I came here
 “ from Sir *William Johnson*, your Brother *Onas*
 “ told me, you had promised him another Meet-
 “ ing in the Spring, in order to settle all the
 “ Differences subsisting between you and your
 “ Brethren the *English*; and as your Brother
 “ Sir *William Johnson* has ordered me to assist at
 “ these Meetings, and help to see Matters recon-
 “ ciled and Justice done you, I desire you by this
 “ Belt of Wampum in the Name of Sir *Wil-*
 “ *liam Johnson*, your Brother *Onas*, and the
 “ Descendants of the first Settlers who came
 “ over with your antient Brother *William Penn*,
 “ to use your utmost Endeavours to bring down
 “ all your People, and as many of your Uncles
 “ the Six Nations that live among you, as will
 “ be necessary to accomplish this good Work
 “ you began; and I promise you in the Name
 “ of Sir *William Johnson*, whom the great King
 “ of *England*, your Father and his Master, has
 “ ordered to take Care of all the *Indians* in this
 “ Part of *America*, that I will see Justice done
 “ you.”

When

When the above Message was delivered to the *Indians* at *Diabogo*, the *Indian* Council immediately dispatched two Men to the *Ohio*, to inform the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* living there of this Meeting, and to desire some of them to come to it; but if none of them should chuse to come, these Messengers were then to insist that none of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* living on the *Ohio* should come to War against the *English*, till this Meeting was over, and they have Time after returning home to let them know how it ended.

Confer-
ences
with the
Indians
at Harris
and Lan-
caster,
1757. P.

About the Time Mr. *Croghan* dispatched the Messengers up *Susquehannah*, he sent three others to the *Indians* on *Ohio*, inviting them to the Conference. These, upon their Arrival at *Venango*, one of the chief Towns on *Ohio*, called a Meeting of the *Indians*, and delivered their Message, with which the *Delawares* present seemed well pleased, and said they would go down, but must first go and consult their Uncles the *Senecas*, who lived further up the River. The next Day they went and consulted the *Senecas*, who having heard the Messages, dissuaded the *Delawares* from going, because the Belts (or Messages) sent were not proper on the Occasion; they said, they knew *George Croghan*, and would be well enough pleased to see him, and if he would send them proper Belts made out of old Council-Wampum (*i. e.* a Message from the Government and People, who were their old Friends, and with whom they had formerly treated) both they and the *Delawares* would go down and see him. The Messengers, upon their Return, called at *Diabogo* and informed *Teedyuscung* of the Message they carried to *Ohio*, and the Answer they brought back. Hereupon *Teedyuscung* sent to let the Governor

P. 8 & 9.

vernor and Mr. *Croghan* know, that neither the Belts sent, nor the Persons that carried them, were proper on the Occasion ; that, if they wanted to have a Meeting with the *Indians*, they should send wise Men, not young Warriors, to invite them down.

Besides the foregoing Messages the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* wrote to Sir *William Johnson* to send down a Number of the Six Nations to assist at the proposed Meeting. These came down first, in Number about one Hundred and sixty Men, Women and Children. On the 29th of *March*, 1757, Mr. *Croghan* met them at *Harris's* on *Susquehannah*, about 90 Miles from *Philadelphia*, and was informed by them, that *Teedyuscung* was gone into the *Senecas* Country to get a Number of *Senecas* to come down with him ; that he would be down as soon as possible with 200 *Indians*, but whether he would come to *Easton* or *John Harris's* they could not tell.

From *Harris's* they were persuaded to come to *Lancaster*, where having waited till the 26th of *April*, and the Small-Pox breaking out among them, and finding *Teedyuscung* did not come, they sent Messengers to *Philadelphia* to invite the Governor to come and meet them, as they wanted to go home again. On the 9th of *May* the Governor arrived at *Lancaster*, and on the 12th had a Meeting with the *Indians*, at which he informed them of what had passed between him and the *Delawares*, and desired they would advise him what Measures they thought would be most likely to bring about a Peace with these *Indians*. In answer to this the Six Nation Chief told the Governor, " it gave them great Satisfaction to hear " that he had been so fortunate as to find out the " true Causes from whence the Differences arose " be.

“ between the *English* and the *Delawares* and *Shaw-
 anese*, for that they and Sir *W. Johnson* had taken
 “ a great deal of Pains to find it out without Suc-
 “ cess.” After this he informs the Governor of the
 Meeting the Six Nation Deputies had with the *De-
 lawares* at *Otsaningo*, and how the *Delawares* had
 thrown off their Dependence, and declared they
 would no longer acknowledge any but the *Senec-
 as* as their Uncles and Superiors. “ Now, Bro-
 “ ther, says he, our Advice to you is, that you
 “ send proper Messengers immediately to the *Se-
 necas* to invite them with the *Delawares* and
 “ *Shawanese* to a Meeting with you here, and
 “ when they come, be very careful in your
 “ Proceedings with them, and do not be rash,
 “ and it will be in your Power to settle all the
 “ Differences subsisting between you and them.”

In answer to this the Governor thanked the
Indians for informing him of the close Connec-
 tion between the *Delawares* and *Senecas*, acknow-
 ledged their Advice was good and wholesome,
 and in pursuance of it, he said, he would send to
Teedyuscung to come down, and leave it entirely
 to his Choice to bring with him such, and so
 many, of his Uncles and others his Friends as
 he thinks proper.

After this *George Croghan* having informed the
Indians, that he was appointed and ordered by
 Sir *William Johnson* to enquire into, and hear,
 the Complaints of the *Indians*, and, if justly
 grounded, to use his Endeavours to get them
 redressed, insisted upon it that those present should
 open their Hearts to him without Reserve, and
 inform him of every Thing they knew concern-
 ing Frauds complained of by *Teedyuscung*, or
 any other Injuries or Injustice done to them, or
 any of the Tribes of the Six Nations or other *In-
 dians*

Indians in Alliance with his Majesty King *George* in this or the neighbouring Colonies, that he might be enabled to represent the true State of their Grievances to his Majesty. He farther desired them to recommend it to the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* to come down and give the Governor a Meeting; to make their Complaints appear and have them adjusted, else he would take it for granted they had no just Cause of Complaint. Hereupon the Six Nation Speaker assigned four Causes which gave Rise to the present Quarrel between the *English* and the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*; first, the Death of the *Delaware* Chief (*Weekweley*) who, for accidentally killing a Man, was hanged in the *Jerseys*. Secondly, the Imprisonment of some *Shawanese* Warriors in *Carolina*, where the Chief Man of the Party died. Thirdly, the dispossessing the *Indians* of their Land. And, lastly, the Instigations of the *French*. On the two last Heads he said, "We must now
 " inform you, that in former Times our Fore-
 " fathers conquered the *Delawares*, and put Pet-
 " ticoats on them: A long Time after that, they
 " lived among you our Brothers; but, upon some
 " Difference between you and them, we thought
 " proper to remove them, giving them Lands
 " to plant and hunt on at *Wyomen* and *Juniata* on
 " *Susquebannah*:—But you, covetous of Land,
 " made Plantations there, and spoiled their Hunt-
 " ing-Grounds: They then complained to us,
 " and we looked over those Lands, and found
 " their Complaints to be true. At this Time
 " they carried on a Correspondence with the
 " *French*, by which Means the *French* became
 " acquainted with all the Causes of Complaint
 " they had against you, and as your People were
 " daily increasing their Settlements, by this
 " Means

“ Means you drove them back into the Arms of
 “ the *French*, and they took the Advantage of
 “ spiriting them up against you, by telling them,
 “ Children you see, and we have often told you,
 “ how the *English* your Brethren would serve
 “ you; they plant all the Country, and drive
 “ you back, so that in a little Time you will
 “ have no Land. It is not so with us; tho’ we
 “ build Trading-Houses on your Land we do
 “ not plant it; we have our Provisions from over
 “ the great Water.” We have opened our Hearts
 “ to you, and told you what Complaints we have
 “ heard that they had against you, and our Ad-
 “ vice to you is, that you send for the *Senecas*
 “ and them, treat them kindly, and rather give
 “ them some Part of their Fields back again
 “ than differ with them: It is in your Power to
 “ settle all Differences with them if you please.
 “ As to what passed between you and *Teedyuscung*
 “ last Fall, respecting the Purchase of Lands,
 “ we know nothing of it. They are not here,
 “ and if we enquire we can only hear what you
 “ say on that Head. We should have been glad
 “ the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* had been here at
 “ this Time, that we might have heard the
 “ Complaints on both Sides; then we should
 “ have been able to judge who were in the Fault,
 “ and we are determined to see Justice done to
 “ the Party aggrieved. You say, if you have
 “ done the *Indians* any Injustice you are willing
 “ to make them Satisfaction. We are glad to
 “ hear it; and as you have Writings to refresh
 “ your Memories about every Transaction that
 “ has happened between you and the *Delawares*
 “ and *Shawanese*, we recommend it heartily to
 “ you to do them Justice.”

As

As the Six Nations had so warmly pressed the sending for the *Senecas*, the Governor promised it should be done, and accordingly sent a Messenger to *Teedyuscung*, to inform him of the Advice the Six Nations had given, in consequence of which he desired him to come down as soon as it would suit his Convenience, and to bring with him the *Senecas*, or such of them as would be agreeable to him, to open his Heart to his Brethren, and he promised him if it should appear that he had been defrauded of his Lands, or received any other Injuries from this Province, he should receive Satisfaction. This was sent by a special Messenger from *Lancaster* to *Teedyuscung*, who, upon receiving this, hastened to *Easton*, the Place of Meeting, where he arrived about the Middle of *July*, having brought with him a few principal Men of the *Senecas* as well as from the Rest of the Six Nations. These with his own People made in all about 300 Men, Women and Children. The Governor, with six of his Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, four of the Provincial Commissioners, and one or two other Members of Assembly, with a Number of Citizens of *Philadelphia*, and other Inhabitants of the Province, attended this Treaty. Before the public Business begun, *Teedyuscung* applied to the Governor to allow him the Liberty of appointing a Person to take down the Minutes of the Treaty for him with the Secretary appointed by the Governor. He had seen the Secretary of the Province, at the last *Easton* Treaty, throw down his Pen, and declare he would not take Minutes when Complaints were made against the Proprietors. He did not know but the same Thing might happen again, as the same Complaints would be repeated. Besides, the Business to be trans-

acted

acted was of the utmost Importance, and required to be exactly minuted, which he thought might be best done by the Method he proposed. The Governor then presented *George Croghan* to *Teedyuscung*, and the Day following told him, that Sir *William Johnson* "had constituted and appointed Mr. *Croghan* his Deputy-Agent for *Indian* Affairs in this Province, with particular Directions to hear any Complaints, and assist in accommodating the Differences the *Indians* might have with his Majesty's Subjects, and particularly those set forth at the Treaty in *November* last. As to the Matter of a Secretary, he let *Teedyuscung* know, that, by a particular Agreement between him and Mr. *Croghan* at the last Treaty at *Lancaster*, no one was to take Minutes of the Proceedings but the Secretary appointed by Mr. *Croghan*; that he had been farther told, it was the constant Practice of Sir *William Johnson*, as well as all others who have the Conduct of *Indian* Affairs, to employ *their own* Secretaries." "And as this Method, continues he, was settled at *Lancaster* as a Precedent to be observed in future Treaties, I shall not take upon me to make any Alteration in this Respect."

Teedyuscung, looking upon this as a Denial, was much dissatisfied. The Refusal of a Demand so just and reasonable, and which he had made only for the Sake of Truth and Regularity, awakened his Suspicion, and induced him to believe that there was a Design to lead him on blindfold, and in the Dark, or to take Advantage of his Ignorance. Wherefore, considering the Demand he made no longer as a Matter of Favour, but what he had a Right to, and not only as reasonable but absolutely necessary to come at the Truth; and, as it had been a Thing agreed

agreed upon in his Council at home, he resolved once more to insist on its being granted, and if the Governor persisted in refusing it to him, he determined not to treat, but to break up and go home. This being made known to the Governor, he told *Teedyuscung*, that as no *Indian* Chief before him ever demanded to have a Clerk, and none had ever been appointed for *Indians* in former Treaties, nay, as he had not even nominated one on the Part of the Province, he could not help declaring it against his Judgment. “ However, to give you a fresh Proof of my “ Friendship and Regard, if you insist upon “ having a Clerk, I shall no longer oppose it.”

Four Days being spent in this Debate, the public Treaty began next Day, *Teedyuscung* having first nominated a Person to take Minutes of the Proceedings for him. The Person he nominated was one *Charles Thomson*, who had, at the particular Request of Mr. *Peters*, taken Minutes at the last *Easton* Treaty, and of whom, it is likely, the *Indians* had conceived a good Opinion from the close Attention he gave to the Business when the Secretary of the Province seemed confused and threw down his Pen.

The Governor opened the Conference in public, by informing *Teedyuscung*, that he was glad to meet him once more with his People and some of the Six Nations according to the Agreement in *November* last : He put him in Mind of the Question that was asked him relating to the Cause of the Breach between the *English* and *Delawares*, and of the Answer he gave. He let him know that he had laid the Proceedings of that Treaty before Sir *William Johnson* (appointed by the King sole Agent for *Indian* Affairs in this District) and that he had deputed Mr. *George Croghan* to ac

in his Behalf, to attend this Treaty, and enquire into every Grievance the *Indians* may have suffered, either from their Brethren of *Pensylvania* or the neighbouring Provinces.

After this Mr. *Croghan*, addressing the *Indians*, told them, "That he was ordered by Sir *William Johnson* to attend this Meeting, and to hear any Complaints they had to make against their Brother *Onas*, in respect to his defrauding them of the Lands mentioned in the last *Easton* Treaty, or any other Injuries they had received from any of his Majesty's Subjects. And he assured them, in the Name of Sir *William Johnson*, he would do every Thing in his Power to have all Differences amicably adjusted to their Satisfaction, agreeable to his Orders and Instructions."

In answer to this, *Teedyuscung* having assigned the same Cause of the Difference between him and the *English*, that he had at the last Treaty at *Easton*, and referred the Governor and his People to their own Hearts and Writings for the Truth of what he said; and having hinted at the Injustice of the *English* in taking all the Lands from the *Indians*, and leaving them no Place for a Residence, he told the Governor, that he now put it in his Power to make a lasting Peace: That he wanted nothing but what was reasonable; that this Land was first given to the *Indians* by that Almighty Power who made all Things; "And as, says he, it has pleased Him
 "to convey you to us, and unite us in Friend-
 "ship in the Manner already mentioned, which
 "was well known by our Ancestors, it is now in
 "your Power, and depends entirely on your
 "Care and Diligence, that it may not be bro-
 "ken, as it has been, and if it be broken it will
 "be owing to you—This I ask, that I may have
 H "some

“ some Place for a Settlement, and other good
 “ Purposes, in which we may both agree ; but
 “ as I am a free Agent, as well as you, I must
 “ not be bound up, but have Liberty to settle
 “ where I please.”

As the *Indian* King had been for four or five Days (*viz.* from the Day before the publick Treaty began, to the Time of his delivering this Speech) kept almost continually drunk, it is not to be wondered that several Parts of his Speech, as it stands in the Minutes, appear dark and confused, as they did to the Governor ; more especially as the Interpreter, at the Time the Speech was delivered, was dozed with Liquor and Want of Sleep.

However, after this, being, by the Interposition of his Council, restrained from Liquor, and next Morning, when sober, called upon by Mr. *Croghan*, at the Desire of the Governor, to explain what he had said the Day before, and in particular whether he continued the Complaints he had made last Fall, about his being defrauded of Lands, and where he intended to settle, he made the following Speech :

“ The Complaints I made last Fall I yet continue. I think some Lands have been bought
 “ by the Proprietary or his Agents from *Indians*
 “ who had not a Right to sell, and to whom the
 “ Lands did not belong. I think also, when
 “ some Lands have been sold to the Proprietary
 “ by *Indians* who had a Right to sell to a certain
 “ Place, whether that Purchase was to be measured by Miles or Hours Walk, that the Proprietaries have, contrary to Agreement or Bargain, taken in more Lands than they ought
 “ to have done, and Lands that belonged to
 “ others. I therefore now desire you will produce

“ duce the Writings and Deeds by which you
 “ hold the Land, and let them be read in pub-
 “ lick and examined, that it may be fully known
 “ from what *Indians* you have bought the Lands
 “ you hold, and how far your Purchases extend,
 “ that Copies of the whole may be laid before
 “ King *George*, and published to all the Pro-
 “ vinces under his Government. What is fairly
 “ bought and paid for I make no farther De-
 “ mands about. But if any Lands have been
 “ bought of *Indians*, to whom these Lands did
 “ not belong, and who had no Right to sell
 “ them, I expect a Satisfaction for these Lands.
 “ And if the Proprietaries have taken in more
 “ Lands than they bought of the true Owners,
 “ I expect likewise to be paid for that. But as
 “ the Persons to whom the Proprietaries may
 “ have sold these Lands, which of Right be-
 “ longed to me, have made some Settlements,
 “ I do not want to disturb them, or to force
 “ them to leave them, but I expect a full Sa-
 “ tisfaction shall be made to the true Owners for
 “ these Lands, tho’ the Proprietaries, as I said
 “ before, might have bought them from Persons
 “ that had no Right to sell them. As we in-
 “ tend to settle at *Wyomen*, we want to have
 “ certain Boundaries fixed between you and us,
 “ and a certain Tract of Land fixed, which it
 “ shall not be lawful for us or our Children ever
 “ to sell, nor for you or any of your Children
 “ ever to buy. We would have the Boundaries
 “ fixed all around agreeable to the Draught we
 “ give you (here he drew a Draught with Chalk
 “ on the Table) that we may not be pressed on
 “ any Side, but have a certain Country fixed for
 “ our Use and the Use of our Children for
 “ ever. And as we intend to make a Settle-

“ ment at *Wyomen*, and to build different Houses
 “ from what we have done heretofore, such as
 “ may last not only for a little Time, but for our
 “ Children after us; we desire you will assist us
 “ in making our Settlements, and send us Per-
 “ sons to instruct us in building Houses, and in
 “ making such Necessaries as shall be needful;
 “ and that Persons be sent to instruct us in the
 “ Christian Religion, which may be for our fu-
 “ ture Welfare, and to instruct our Children in
 “ Reading and Writing; and that a fair Trade
 “ be established between us, and such Persons
 “ appointed to conduct and manage these Affairs
 “ as shall be agreeable to us.”

Notwithstanding the Messages Mr. *Croghan*
 and the Governor had sent to *Teedyuscung*, the
 Promises made at *Lancaster*, and what both had
 said in the Beginning of the present Treaty, of
 their Willingness and Readiness to hear the Com-
 plaints of the *Indians*, and to redress their Griev-
 ances, yet when the Governor came to answer
 this Speech, he told *Teedyuscung* that “ he must
 refer him to Sir *William Johnson*; that the Orders
 of his Majesty’s Ministers were, that the *Indians*
 Complaints should be heard before Sir *William*
Johnson only; that Mr. *Croghan* had informed
 him he had no Power to suffer any Altercations
 on this Complaint, and that he did not think
 it would be for the Good of his Majesty’s Ser-
 vice, &c.”

“ As to the Lands between *Shamokin* and *Wy-*
omen the Proprietaries had never bought them of
 the *Indians*, and therefore never claimed them
 under any *Indian* Purchase; that he was pleased
 with the Choice they had made of that Place,
 and would use all the Means in his Power to
 have these Lands settled upon him and his Pos-
 terity

terity agreeable to his Request; and as to the other Purposes for which he desired this Settlement of Lands, they were so reasonable, that he made no Doubt, but, on his Recommendation of them to the Assembly, they would cheerfully enable him to comply with them."

This Speech being delivered, the *Indian King* and his Council immediately withdrew to deliberate upon it. The Result of this Council was, that they would not go to Sir *William Johnson*, and that the Reasons of their Refusal might appear in full Strength, they agreed to follow the Example of the Governor, and to have their Speech written down and examined in Council, and then read to the Governor. The Manner in which the King had before delivered himself in publick induced the Council to press this Measure now.

Accordingly, next Morning they again met, sent for the Secretary, and had the Speech written down and carefully examined. But when the King met the Governor at the publick Conference, and desired that what was written down in Council might be read and accepted as his Speech, both the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* joined in opposing it. After some Debate *Teedyuscung*, finding they would not grant him the Privilege they had taken themselves, informed them from his Memory, of the Substance of what was agreed upon in Council; and after taking Notice of the Inconsistency that appeared to him in the Governor's telling him at one Time, that *George Croghan* was Sir *William Johnson's* Deputy, and appointed to act between the *English* and *Indians*, and at another, that he had no Power, &c. he gave the Governor to understand that he would not go to Sir *William Johnson*;

first, because he did not know Sir *William*; next, because there were the Nations who had been instrumental to this Misunderstanding, by the Manner in which they had heretofore treated them, and by selling Lands in this Province, and, last y, because the deferring Matters might again embroil us in War. He further told the Governor, that he then wanted nothing for his Lands, but only that the Deeds might be produced, and well looked into, and Copies of them taken and put with the Minutes of the Treaty. This done he offered to confirm a Peace immediately: And, as to the Injury he imagined he had received in Land Affairs, he left that to be decided by the King, and said he would wait his Determination. “ Let Copies of the Deeds be sent to the King, “ and let him judge. I want nothing of the “ Land till the King hath sent Letters back, “ and then if any of the Lands be found to be “ long to me, I expect to be paid for it, and “ not before.”

The Governor, finding that *Teedyuscung* was not to be put off, resolved in Appearance to comply with his Request. But as it was agreed not to deliver up all the Deeds, and as this might give Umbrage to the *Indians*, Mr. *Weiser* and Mr. *Croghan* were privately sent to practise with the King, and to get him to be content with the Delivery of a Part, alledging that the whole of the Deeds was not brought up, but such only as were necessary, and relating to his Complaint and the late Purchases. Part of two Days being spent in these Practices, and the *Indians* in the mean Time plied with Liquor, the Governor met the *Indians*, and having assigned some late Orders from the King's Ministers as the Cause of his referring *Teedyuscung* to Sir *William Johnson*, he told

told him, that as he so earnestly desired to see the Deeds for the Lands, mentioned in the last Treaty, he had brought them with him, and would give *Teedyuscung* Copies of them agreeable to his Request. Hereupon some Deeds being laid upon the Table, the Governor desired that all further Debates and Altercations concerning Lands might rest till they should be fully examined and looked into by Sir *William Johnson*, in order to be transmitted to the King for his Royal Determination. When *Teedyuscung* was made sensible that the Deeds were delivered, without examining to see what Deeds they were, he immediately, in the Name of the Ten Nations, solemnly concluded a Peace. The Reading the Deeds was put off till next Day. In the mean Time, upon Examination, it was found very few Deeds were delivered, and those not sufficient to throw full Light into the Matters in Dispute, which shewed there was no Design of doing Justice, or of making a full and candid Enquiry into the Complaints of the *Indians*. The Deed of 1718 was withheld; a Paper, called a Copy of the last *Indian* Purchase in 1686, tho' not even attested to be a Copy, was produced for a Deed. Mr. *Thomson*, who was *Teedyuscung*'s Secretary, having, before he knew there was any Intention of nominating him to take Minutes, had an Opportunity of reading the Treaty in 1728, and seeing there the Stress that was laid upon the Deed of 1718, and considering farther that the Governor, as being but lately arrived, might be unacquainted with that Matter, thought he could not, consistent with his Duty, do less than inform the Governor there was such a Deed. This he did by a Letter which he delivered into the Governor's own Hands. This, however,

had not the desired Effect: For the next Day, when the Deeds were again produced, that of 1718 was still wanting. The Proprietary's Agents, it seems, had laid the Plan, and it was necessary to prosecute that at all Adventures, let the Consequence be what it would. For this Reason, doubtless, it was that the Deed of 1718 was withheld; that the Paper, called a Copy, was produced for a Deed, tho' there was no Kind of Certificate to it to attest that it was even a Copy, and Blanks were left in two of the most material Places, which it cannot well be imagined a true Deed could have, or that the *Indians* would ever knowingly have executed. However, it was necessary this should be produced, because on it depended the Release of 1737, by virtue of which the Walk was made, and the greatest Part of the Land in Dispute taken from the *Indians*. Besides these, were produced a Release from the *Indians* of the Five Nations of the Lands on *Susquehanna* River, *October 11. 1736*. A Release from the Six Nations of Lands below the Mountains eastward to *Delaware* River, dated *October 25, 1736*, with another indorsed on it, dated the *9th July 1754*. And, lastly, a Deed of Release for *Indian* Purchases, dated *22d August 1749*.

Upon finding that the Deed of 1718 was not delivered, notwithstanding the Notice given to the Governor, *Teedyuscung's* Secretary informed *Mr. Croghan*, the King's Deputy-Agent, thereof, by a Letter written and delivered into his Hands at the Table in the Time of the public Treaty. The Reason for not mentioning this Matter in public was, least, if it came to the *Indians* Ears that they were thus abused, they might break up the Conference, and go away dissatisfied. The
Fer-

Ferment among the *Indians*, and the Resolution they had taken to go home but the Evening before, upon imagining that some Delays in the public Business proceeded from a Backwardness in the Governor to conclude a Peace, gave apparent Grounds for this Fear. For this same Reason it was that the Commissioners from the Assembly, tho' they were sensible the necessary Deeds were not delivered, yet at the Time took no public Notice of it, being in Hopes that, upon more mature Deliberation, the Governor would order what were farther necessary to be afterwards added, and sent to the King and Council. For, as a just Determination could not be given, while Papers and Deeds of such Importance were withheld, and as the Lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects, and the Alliance of many *Indian* Nations, depended upon a just Determination, it was not to be imagined that the Governor would join in deceiving the King and his Council in a Matter of so great Consequence.

After the foregoing Deeds and Papers were produced, and Copies of them given, *Tedyuscung* requested that Mr. Norris, Speaker of the Assembly, together with the Assembly, would look into these Matters, and send to the King a Copy of the Deeds and Minutes of this Treaty, and he hoped the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* would have no Objection to this.

Here then the Affair rests. If the proper Papers, and a true State of the Case, be laid before the King and Council, for a just Determination: If the *Indians* be assisted in making this Settlement, secured in their Property, and instructed in Religion and the civil Arts, agreeable to their Request, and the Trade with them regulated and set on such a Footing that they may be secure
from

from Abuse, there is not the least Doubt but the Alliance and Friendship of the *Indians* may be for ever secured to the *British* Interest ; but, should these Things be neglected, the Arms of the *French* are open to receive them.

We have already experienced the Cruelties of an *Indian* War, and there are more Instances than one to shew they are capable of being our most useful Friends, or most dangerous Enemies. And whether, for the future, they are to be the one or the other, seems now to be in our own Power. How long Matters will rest so, or whether, if the present Opportunity be neglected, such another will ever return, is altogether uncertain. It becomes Men of Wisdom and Prudence to leave nothing to Chance where Reason can decide.

A LIST

*A LIST of the Indian Treaties, and
other Records, examined in making the
foregoing Extracts.*

TREATY between Governor Keith and the Indians at Conestogo, April	} 1722
Gov. Gordon and the 5 Nations, at Philadelphia, — — July	} 1727
Minutes of Council on Indian Affairs, — — April 18.	} 1728
Treaty between Gov. Gordon and the Co- nestogoes, Delawares, Shawanese, and Canawese Indians, May and June	} 1728
— Ditto — and 5 Nations, Oct. 10.	1728
— Ditto — and ditto May	1729
Treaty between Gov. Gordon, in the Pre- sence of Thomas Penn, Esq; and the Shawanese, — — Sept.	} 1732
— Ditto — dit. and the Six Na- tions, — — Aug. and Sept.	} 1732
— President Logan and ditto	1736
Deed of Confirmation of the Walking- Purchase, 1737, containing Recitals	} 1733
of several Treaties or Meetings,	} 1737
Minutes of Council relating to Indian Conferences, 1741, not delivered to the Assembly till — —	} 1742
Treaty between Governor Thomas and Six Nations, — — July	} 1742
Treaty held at Lancaster with the Six Nations, Governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, — June	} 1744
Gov. Thomas and Indians, at Phi- ladelphia, — — October	} 1744
Treaties	

Treaties held at <i>Albany</i> with Six Nations, Government of <i>New-York, Massachu-</i> <i>setts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, Oct.</i>	} 1745
— At <i>Albany</i> with ditto, — Gover- nor of <i>New-York,</i> — Sept.	} 1746
Votes of Assembly of <i>Pensylvania,</i> Vol.	} 1747
III. Sundry Minutes on <i>Indian Affairs,</i>	} 1748
Treaty held at <i>Philadelphia</i> between Go- vernor <i>Hamilton</i> and the Six Nations,	} 1749
<i>C. Weiser's</i> Letters to the Secretary, and Governor <i>Hamilton's</i> Messages to the Assembly before and after the said Treaty, — — —	} 1749
Secretary <i>Peters's</i> Report to Governor <i>Hamilton</i> of his Proceedings at <i>Ju-</i> <i>niata,</i> — — —	} 1750
<i>C. Weiser</i> (<i>Indian</i> Interpreter) his Jour- nal of Proceedings at <i>Albany,</i>	} 1751
Treaty held at <i>Carlisle</i> between the Go- vernment of <i>Pensylvania</i> and the <i>Ohio</i> <i>Indians,</i> — — —	} 1753
Private Minutes of Proceedings at <i>Albany</i> Treaty, and Deed of <i>Indian</i> Purchase,	} 1754
<i>C. Weiser's</i> Journal of his Conferences with <i>Indians</i> at <i>Auhgwick,</i> — — —	} 1754
Conferences between Governor <i>Morris</i> and <i>Indians</i> at <i>Philadelphia,</i> Aug.	} 1755
<i>Indian</i> Intelligence obtained in Confe- rence with the Half-King, <i>Scarroyady,</i>	} 1754
and others, at several Times,	} 1755
Conferences between Gov. <i>Morris</i> and <i>Scarroyady, &c.</i> March and April	} 1756
— between some Quakers and <i>Scar-</i> <i>royady,</i> — — — April	} 1756
— between Gov. <i>Morris</i> and Capt. <i>Newcastle</i> at <i>Jagrea,</i> — — — June	} 1756
— between ditto — and ditto, July	1756
Minutes	

Minutes of Conferences between Gov. *Morris and Teedyuscung*, King of the *Delawares*, _____ July } 1756

_____ ditto between Gov. *Denny* and _____ *ditto* at *Easton*, _____ Nov. } 1756

Minutes of Conferences between *ditto* and the Six Nations at *Lancaster*, May } 1757

_____ between *ditto* and *Teedyuscung*, and others, at *Easton*, _____ Aug. } 1757

Conferences and Treaties between Sir *William Johnson* and the Six Nations, *Shawanese*, and others, from *December 1755* to *February 1756*. *London* printed.

Sir *William Johnson's* Treaty with the *Shawanese* and *Delaware Indians*, *July 1756*. Published at *New-York*, 1757.

_____ Treaty with *Shawanese*, *Nanticokes*, and *Mobickanders*, *April 1757*. Published at *New-York*.

Thirteen Indian Deeds taken from the public Records, viz.

2d *October 1685*, For the Lands from *Duck-Creek* to *Chester-Creek*.

12th *January 1696*, For the Lands on both Sides of *Susquehannab*, lately purchased by *Thomas Dungan* of the *Seneca* and *Susquehannab Indians*.

5th *July 1697*, For the Lands from *Pennopeck-Creek* to *Neshameny*.

13th *Sept. 1700*, For the Lands on both Sides of *Susquehannab*, so far as the *Susquehannab Indians* have a Right to claim, confirming the Grant formerly made by *Col. Dungan* to *William Penn*.

23d *April*

23d April 1701, Articles of Friendship and Agreement between *William Penn* and the *Susquehannah*, *Shawonah* and *North Patomack* Indians.

17th Sept. 1718, *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delawares*, and his six Counsellors, to *William Penn*, their Deed of Confirmation of all former Sales of Lands from *Duck-Creek* to the Mountains on this Side *Lechay*.

11th October 1736, Release of all the Lands on *Susquehannah* to the Southward of the *Kittoctinny* Hills from the Chiefs of the Six Nations to *John*, *Thomas* and *Richard Penn*, Esquires.

25th October 1736, Release from some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations (Parties to the last mentioned Deed) of all their Right to the Lands in the Province of *Pensylvania*, southward of the *Kittoctinny* Hills. On this Deed appears an Indorsement made at *Albany*, 9th July 1754, confirming the Deed, and promising to sell no Lands within these Limits to any Person save *Thomas* and *Richard Penn*, Esquires.

25th August 1737, A Deed of Confirmation of a Purchase therein recited to have been formerly made of so much Land as a Man could go over in a Day and half, beginning at *Pitcock's Falls* on *Delaware*, thence westward to *Neshameny*, and to the Head of the most westerly Branch of the said Creek, and thence to the End of the Walk, &c.

23d July 1748, Articles of Friendship between the Chiefs of the *Tweghtwees*, and the Government of *Pensylvania*.

22d August 1749, Release of the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Lands between the *Kittoctinny*

tinny Mountains and Magboinoy on Susquebannab, and the said Mountains and Lechawachsein on Delaware.

6th July 1754, Release from the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Lands on the West-Side of *Susquebannab*, beginning at the *Kittochtinny Hills*, and thence to a Creek northward of the *Kittochtinny Hills*, called *Kayanondinbagb*, thence North-West and by West to the western Bounds of *Pensylvania*, thence to the *Maryland Line*, thence by said Line to the South-Side of the *Kittochtinny Hills*, thence by the said South-Side of the said Hills to the Place of Beginning.

9th July 1754, An Indorsement made by some of the Parties to the said Deed, promising to sell no Lands within the Limits of *Pensylvania* to any but the *Penns.*

A Paper, said to be a Copy of a Deed, dated 28th of 6th Month 1686, and indorsed, Copy of the last *Indian Purchase*. To give it some Credit, it has been confidently asserted, that the said Indorsement is of the Hand-Writing of *William Penn*; but on its being produced at *Easton*, and examined, it appeared clearly, and was confessed by the Secretary and several others acquainted with Mr. *Penn's* Hand-Writing, not to be his, nor indeed is it like it. Its chief Mark of Credit is, that it appears to be an antient Paper. But there is no Certificate of its being a Copy, nor was it ever recorded. As the Name of *Joseph Wood* is put as one of the Evidences, and as a Person of that Name declared at *Pensbury* 1734, he was present at an *Indian Treaty* in 1686, and it is not known there was any other of the Name, it seems

seems extraordinary, if this be a genuine Copy, that he was not then called upon to make some Proof of it.

There is a considerable Number of *Indian* Deeds in the Hands of the Secretary for Lands purchased at several Times, and particularly for the Lands on the Branches of *Schuylkil* above *Tulpybochin*, purchased in 1732 and 1733, which it was particularly desired might be produced, but they will neither record nor produce them. There is Reason to believe the said last mentioned Deed would particularly militate against the subsequent Proceedings from 1733 to 1737.

F I N I S.

A P P E N D I X.

AS the withdrawing of the *Ohio Indians* last Summer from the *French* Interest, was of great Importance to the Success of General *Forbes's* Expedition against *Fort Duquesne*, it may be some Satisfaction to the curious Reader to be informed what Means were made Use of by the General and the Government of *Pennsylvania* to bring about a Peace with those Indians, or at least to engage them in a Neutrality. The great Danger to the General's Army was, that it might be attacked and routed in its March by the Indians, who are so expert in Wood-Fights, that a very small Number of them are superior to a great Number of our Regulars, and generally defeat them. If our Army could once arrive before the Fort, there was no Doubt but a regular Attack would soon reduce it. Therefore a proper Person was sought for, who would venture among those hostile Indians with a Message; and, in the mean Time, the General moved slowly and surely. *Christian Frederick Post* was at length pitched on for this Service. He is a plain, honest, religiously disposed Man, who, from a conscientious Opinion of Duty, formerly went to live among the *Mobickon* Indians, in order to convert them to *Christianity*. He married twice among them, and lived with them seventeen Years, whereby he attained a perfect Knowledge of their Language and Customs. Both his Wives being dead, he had returned to live among the white
I People;

People ; but at the Request of the Governor he readily undertook this hazardous Journey. How he executed his Trust, his *Journal* will show. As he is not a Scholar, the candid Reader will make Allowance for Defects in Method or Expression. The Form may seem uncouth, but the Matter is interesting. The Indian Manner of Treating on public Affairs, which this *Journal* affords a compleat Idea of, is likewise a Matter of no small Curiosity : And the Event of *Post's* Negotiation (as well as the Experience of our bad Success in the Indian War) shows the Rightness of that Measure continually inculcated and recommended by *some* in *Pennsylvania*, of reducing the *Indians* to Reason by *Treaty* rather than by *Force*.

The JOURNAL of *Christian Frederick Post*, in his Journey from *Philadelphia* to the *Ohio*, on a Message from the Government of *Pennsylvania* to the *Delaware*, *Shawanese* and *Mingo* Indians settled there, and formerly in Alliance with the *English*.

July the 15th, 1753.

THIS Day I received Orders from his Honour the Governor to set out on my intended Journey, and proceeded as far as *Germantown*, where I found all the Indians drunk. *Willamegicken* returned to *Philadelphia* for a Horse that was promised him.

16th. This Day I waited for the said *Willamegicken* till near Noon, and when he came, being very drunk*, he could proceed no further, so that I left him and went on to *Bethlehem* †.

17th. I arrived at *Bethlehem*, and prepared for my Journey.

* All Indians are excessively fond of Rum, and will be drunk whenever they can get it.

† The Moravian Brethren's Settlement.

18th. I read over both the last Treaties, that at *Easton* and that at *Philadelphia*, and made myself acquainted with the Particulars of each.

19th. With much Difficulty I perswaded the Indians to leave *Bethlehem*, and travelled this Day no farther than *Hayes's*, having a hard Shower of Rain.

20th. Arrived at *Fort Allen*.

21st. I called my Company together, to know if we should proceed. They complained they were sick, and must rest that Day. This Day I think *Teedyuscung* laid many Obstacles in my Way, and was very much against my proceeding; he said he was afraid I should never return, and that the Indians would kill me. About Dinner-time two Indians arrived from *Wyoming*, with an Account that *Teedyuscung's* Son *Hans Jacob* was returned, and brought News from the *French* and *Allegheny* Indians. *Teedyuscung* then called a Council, and proposed that I should only go to *Wyoming*, and return, with the Message his Son had brought, to *Philadelphia*. I made Answer that it was too late, that he should have proposed That in *Philadelphia*, for that the Writings containing my Orders were so drawn, as obliged me to go, though I should lose my Life.

22d. I desired my Companions to prepare to set out, upon which *Teedyuscung* called them all together in the Fort, and protested against my going. His Reasons were, that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the *French* get me; and if that should be the Case, he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do. I gave for Answer, "That I did not know what to think of their Conduct. It is plain," said I, "that the *French* have a publick Road* to your Towns, yet you will not let your own Flesh and Blood, the *English*, come near them; which is very hard: and if that be the Case, the *French* must be your Masters." I added, that,

* An Indian Expression meaning Free Admission.

if I died in the Undertaking, it would be as much for the *Indians* as *English*, and that I hoped my Journey would be of this Advantage, that it would be the Means of saving the Lives of many Hundreds of the *Indians*: Therefore I was resolved to go forward, taking my Life in my Hand, as one ready to part with it for their Good. Immediately after I had spoken thus, three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest Way; and we concluded to go through the Inhabitants under the blue Mountains to Fort *Augusta* on *Sasquebannah*, where we arrived the 25th.

It gave me great Pain to observe many Plantations deserted and laid waste; and I could not but reflect on the Distress the poor Owners must be drove to, who once lived in Plenty; and I prayed the Lord to restore Peace and Prosperity to the Distressed.

At Fort *Augusta* we were entertained very kindly, had our Horses shod, and one, being lame, we exchanged for another. Here we received, by *Indians* from *Diabogo* *, the disagreeable News that our Army was, as they said, entirely cut off at *Ticonderoga*, which discouraged one of my Companions (*Lappopetung's* Son) so much, that he would proceed no further. *Shamoking Daniel* here asked me if I thought he should be satisfied for his Trouble in going with me. I told him every Body that did any Service for the Province I thought would be paid.

27th. They furnished us here with every Necessary for our Journey, and we set out with good Courage. After we rode about ten Miles, we were caught in a hard Gust of Rain.

28th. We came to *Wekeeponall*, where the Road turns off for *Wyoming*, and slept this Night at *Queenashawakee*.

29th. We crossed the *Sasquebannah* over the Bigg Island. My Companions were now very fearful, and

† An *Indian* Settlement towards the Heads of *Sasquebannah*.

this Night went a great Way out of the Road to sleep without Fire, but could not sleep for the Musketoes and Vermin.

30th and 31st. We were glad it was Day, that we might set out. We got upon the Mountains and had heavy Rains all Night. The Heavens alone were our Covering, and we accepted of all that was poured down from thence.

August the 1st. We saw three Hoops * on a Bush: To one of them there remained some long white Hair. Our Horses left us, I suppose not being fond of the dry Food on the Mountains: With a good deal of Trouble we found them again. We slept this Night on the same Mountain.

2d. We came across several Places where two Poles painted red were stuck in the Ground by the *Indians*, to which they tie their Prisoners when they stop at Night in their Return from their Incurfions. We arrived this Night at *Shinglimubee*, where was another of the same Posts. 'Tis a disagreeable and melancholy Sight to see the Means they make use of (according to their savage Way) to distress others.

3d. We came to a Part of a River called *Tobeco*, over the Mountains a very bad Road.

4th. We lost one of our Horses and with much Difficulty found him, but was detained a whole Day on that Account.

I had much Conversation with *Pisquetumen* †, of which I think to inform myself further when I get to my Journey's End.

5th. We set out early this Day and made a good long Stretch, crossed the big River *Tobeco* and lodged between two Mountains. I had the Misfortune to lose my Pocket-Book with three Pounds five Shillings ‡, and sundry other Things: What Writings

* Little Hoops on which the *Indians* stretch and dress the raw Scalps.

† An *Indian* Chief that travelled with him.

‡ The Money of *Pennsylvania*, being Paper, is chiefly carried in Pocket-Books.

it contained were illegible to any Body but myself.

6th. We passed all the Mountains, and the big River *Weshawaucks*, and crossed a fine Meadow two Miles in Length, where we slept that Night, having nothing to eat.

7th. We came in Sight of Fort *Venango*, belonging to the *French*, situate between two Mountains in a Fork of the *Ohio* River. I prayed the Lord to blind them, as he did the Enemies of *Lot* and *Elisba*, that I might pass unknown. When we arrived, the Fort being on the other Side of the River, we halloo'd and desired them to fetch us over, which they were afraid to do, but shewed us a Place where we might ford. We slept that Night within half Gun-Shot of the Fort.

8th. This Morning I hunted for my Horse round the Fort within ten Yards of it. The Lord heard my Prayer, and I passed unknown till we had mounted our Horses to go off, when two *Frenchmen* came to take leave of the *Indians*, and were much surprized at seeing me, but said nothing.

By what I could learn of *Pisquetumen* and the *Indians* who went into the Fort, the Garrison consisted of only six Men and an Officer blind of one Eye. They enquired much of the *Indians* concerning the *English*, whether they knew of any Party coming to attack them, which they were very apprehensive of.

9th. Heavy Rains all Night and Day : We slept on swampy Ground.

10th. We imagined we were near *Kushkushkee* ; and having travelled three Miles, we met three *Frenchmen*, who appeared very shy of us, but said nothing more than to enquire, whether we knew of any *English* coming against Fort *Venango*.

After we travelled two Miles farther, we met with an *Indian* and one that I took to be a runagade *English Indian-Trader* : He spoke good *English*, was very curious in examining every Thing, particularly the silver Medal about *Pisquitumen's* Neck. He appeared by his Countenance to be guilty. We enquired

quired of them where we were, and found we were lost, and within twenty Miles of Fort *Duquesne*. We struck out of the Road to the Right, and slept between two Mountains; and being destitute of Food, two went to hunt and the others to seek a Road, but to no Purpose.

11th. We went to the Place where they had killed two Deers, and *Pisquitumen* and I roasted the Meat. Two went to hunt for the Road to know which Way we should go: One came back and had found a Road; the other lost himself.

12th. The rest of us hunted for him, but in vain; so, as we could not find him, we concluded to set off, leaving such Marks that, if he returned, he might know which Way to follow us; and we left him some Meat. We came to the River *Conaquonashon*, where was an old *Indian* Town. We were then fifteen Miles from *Kushkushkee*.

There we stopt and sent forward *Pisquetumen* with four Strings of Wampum, to apprize the Town of our coming *, with this Message, “ Brother †, thy
“ Brethren are come a great Way and want to see
“ thee at thy Fire, to *smoak that good Tobacco* ‡ which
“ our good Grandfathers used to smoak. Turn thy
“ Eyes once more upon that Road by which I
“ came ¶. I bring thee Words of great Consequence
“ from the Governor and People of *Pennsylvania* and
“ from the King of *England*. Now I desire thee to call
“ all the Kings and Captains from all the Towns, that
“ none may be missing. I do not desire that my Words
“ may be hid, or spoken under Cover. I want to
“ speak loud that all the *Indians* may hear me. I hope

* According to the Rules of *Indian Politeness*, you must never go into a Town without sending a previous Message to denote your Arrival, or standing at a Distance from the Town and hallooing till some come out to conduct you in. Otherwise you are thought as *rude as Whitemen*.

† When the People of a Town, or of a Nation, are addressed, the *Indians* always use the singular Number.

‡ i. e. To confer in a friendly Manner.

¶ i. e. Call to mind our antient friendly Intercourse.

“ thou wilt bring me on the Road and lead me into
 “ the Town. I blind the *French* that they may not
 “ see me, and I stop their Ears that they may not
 “ hear the great News I bring you.”

About Noon we met some *Shawanese* that used to live at *Wyoming*. They knew me, and received me very kindly. I saluted them, and assured them the Government of *Pennsylvania* wished them well and wished to live in Peace and Friendship with them. Before we came to the Town, two Men came to meet us and lead us in. King *Beaver* shewed us a large House to lodge in*. The People soon came and shaked Hands with us. The Number was about sixty young able Men. Soon after King *Beaver* came and told his People, “ Boys, hearken, We
 “ sat here without ever expecting again to see
 “ our Brethren the *English*; but now one of them is
 “ brought before you, that you may see your Bre-
 “ thren the *English* with your own Eyes; and I
 “ wish you may take it into Consideration.”—After-
 wards he turned to me and said,

“ Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never
 “ thought we should have had the Opportunity to
 “ see one another more; but now I am very glad,
 “ and thank God † who has brought you to us. It
 “ is a great Satisfaction to me.”—I said, “ Brother,
 “ I rejoice in my Heart and thank God who has
 “ brought me to you. I bring you joyful News
 “ from the Governor and People of *Pennsylvania*,
 “ and from your Children the *Friends* ‡: And, as I
 “ have Words of great Consequence, I will lay them
 “ before you when all the Kings and Captains are
 “ called together from the other Towns. I wish there
 “ may not be a Man of them missing, but that they
 “ may be all here to hear.”

* Every *Indian* Town has a large Cabin for the Entertainment of Strangers by the public Hospitality.

† The *Indians* have learned from the *English* the general Notion of a supreme good Being.

‡ That is, the *Quakers*, for whom the *Indians* have a particular Regard.

In the Evening King *Beaver* came again and told me, they had held a Council, and sent out to all their Towns, but it would take five Days before they could all come together. I thanked him for his Care. Ten Captains came and saluted me. One said to the others; "We never expected to see our Brethren 'the *Englisb* again, but now God has granted us 'once more to shake Hands with them, which we 'will not forget.' They sat by my Fire till Midnight.

14th. The People crowded to my House, it was full. We had much Talk. *Delaware George* said he had not slept all Night, so much had he been engaged on Account of my Coming. The *French* came and would speak with me. There were then 15 of them building Houses for the *Indians*. The Captain is gone with 15 to another Town. He can speak the Indian Tongue well. The *Indians* say he is a cunning Fox; that they get a great deal of Goods from the *French*; and that the *French* cloath the *Indians* every Year, Men Women, and Children, and give them as much Powder and Lead as they want.

15th. *Beaver King* was informed, that *Teedyuscung* had said he had turned the Hatchet against the *French* by Advice of the *Allegany Indians*; this he blamed, as they had never sent him such Advice. But being informed it was his own doing, without any Persuasion of the Governor, he was easy on that Head. *Delaware Daniel* prepar'd a Dinner, to which he invited me and all the Kings and Captains: And when I came, he said, 'Brother, we are as glad to see you among us 'as if we dined with the Governor and People in 'Philadelphia. We have thought a great deal since 'you have been here. We never thought so much 'before*.' I thanked them for their kind Reception; I said it was something great, that God had

* That is, We look on your coming as a Matter of Importance, it engages our Attention.

spared our Lives to see one another again in the old Brother-like Love and Friendship. There were in all 13 who dined together.

In the Evening they danced at my Fire, first the Men and then the Women, till after Midnight.

On the 16th, the King and the Captains called on me privately. They wanted to hear what *Teedyuscung* had said of them, and begged me to take out the Writings. I read to them what *Teedyuscung* had said, and told them, as *Teedyuscung* had said he would speak so loud, that all at *Allegheny*, and beyond, should hear it, I would conceal nothing from them. They said they never sent any such Advice (as above mentioned) to *Teedyuscung*, nor ever sent a Message at all to the Government; and now the *French* were here, their Captain would come to hear, and this would make Disturbance. I then told them I would read the rest, and leave out that Part, and they might tell the Kings and Captains of it when they came together.

17th. Early this Morning they called all the People together to clean the Place where they intended to hold the Council, it being in the middle of the Town. *Kushkushkee* is divided into four Towns, each at a Distance from the others, and the whole consists of about 90 Houses and 200 able Warriors.

About Noon two publick Messengers arrived from the *Indians* at Fort *Duquesne* and the other Towns. They brought three large Belts and two Bundles of Strings*; there came with them a French Captain and 15 Men. The two Messengers insisted that I should go with them to Fort *Duquesne*; that there

* These Belts and Strings are made of Shell Beads called *Wampum*. The *Wampum* serves among the *Indians* as Money; of it they also make their Necklaces, Bracelets, and other Ornaments. Belts and Strings of it are used in all public Negotiations; to each Belt or String there is connected a Message, Speech or Part of a Speech to be delivered with the Belt by the Messenger or Speaker. These Belts also serve for Records, being worked with Figures composed of Beads of different Colours to assist the Memory.

were there *Indians* of eight Nations who wanted to hear me; that if I brought good News, they inclined to leave off War and live in Friendship with the *English*. The above Messengers being Indian Captains were very furly. When I went to shake Hands with one of them, he gave me his little Finger, the other withdrew his Hand entirely, upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my Hand as quick as I could. Their Rudeness to me was taken very ill by the other Captains, who treated them in the same Manner in their Turn.

I told them my Order was to go to the *Indian* Towns, Kings and Captains, and not to the *French*; that the *English* were at War with the *French*, but not with those *Indians* who withdrew from the *French* and would be at Peace with the *English*.

King *Beaver* invited me to his House to Dinner, and afterwards he invited the *French* Captain, and said before the *Frenchman*, that the *Indians* were very proud to see one of their Brothers the *English* among them; at which the *French* Captain appeared low-spirited, and seemed to eat his Dinner with very little Appetite.

In the Afternoon the *Indian* Kings and Captains called me aside, and desired me to read them the Writings that I had. First I read part of the *Easton* Treaty to them, but they presently stopped me and would not hear it; I then began with the Articles of Peace made with the *Indians* there. They stopped me again and said, they had nothing to say to any Treaty or League of Peace made at *Easton*, nor had any Thing to do with *Teedyuscung*; that if I had nothing to say to them from the Government or Governor, they would have nothing to say to me. And farther said, they had hitherto been at War with the *English*, and had never expected to be at Peace with them again; and that there were six of their Men now gone to War against them with other *Indians*; that had there been Peace between us, those Men should
not

not have gone to War. I then shewed them the Belts and Strings from the Governor, and they again told me to lay aside *Teedyuscung* and the Peace made by him; for that they had nothing to do with it *. I desired them to suffer me to produce my Papers, and I would read what I had to say to them.

18th. *Delaware George* is very active in endeavouring to establish a Peace. I believe he is in earnest. Hitherto they have all treated me kindly.

In the Afternoon all the Kings and Captains were called together, and sent for me to their Council. King *Beaver* first addressed himself to the Captains; and afterwards spoke to me as follows; “ Brother, ‘ You have been here now five Days by our Fire †. ‘ We have sent to all the Kings and Captains desiring ‘ them to come to our Fire, and hear the good News ‘ you brought. Yesterday they sent two Captains to ‘ acquaint us, they were glad to hear our *English* ‘ Brother was come among us, and were desirous to ‘ hear the good News he brought; and since there ‘ are a great many Nations that want to see our Brother, they have invited us to their Fire, that they ‘ may hear us all. Now, Brother, we have but one ‘ great Fire; so, Brother, *by this String* we will take ‘ you in our Arms, and deliver you into the Arms ‘ of the other Kings, and when we have called all ‘ the Nations there, we will hear the good News you ‘ have brought.’

Delivers four Strings,

King *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Delaware George* spoke as follows, ‘ Brother, we alone cannot make a Peace, ‘ it would be of no Signification; for as all the In-

* The Peace made with *Teedyuscung*, was for the *Delawares*, &c. on *Sasquehannah* only, and did not include the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, they having no Deputies at the Treaty. But he had promised to *balloo* to them; that is, send Messengers to them, and endeavour to draw them into the Peace, which he accordingly did.

† A *Fire* in public Affairs, signifies, among the *Indians*, a Council.

* *dians* from the Sun Rise to the Sun Set are united
 ' in one Body, 'tis necessary that the whole should
 ' join in the Peace, or it can be no Peace; and we
 ' can assure you, all the *Indians* a great Way from
 ' this, even beyond the Lakes, are desirous of and
 ' wish for a Peace with the *English*, and have desired
 ' us, as we are the nearest of Kin, if we see the *En-*
 ' *glish* incline to a Peace, to hold it fast.'

On the 19th, all the People gathered together, Men, Women, and Children; and King *Beaver* desired me to read to them the News I had brought, and told me that all the able Men should go with me to the other Town. I complied with his Desire, and they appeared very much pleased at every Thing, till I came to that Part respecting the Prisoners. This they disliked, for they say it appears very odd and unreasonable, that we should demand Prisoners before there is an established Peace; such an unreasonable Demand makes us appear as if we wanted Brains.

20th. We set out from *Kushkushkee* for *Sankonk*; my Company consisted of 25 Horsemen and 15 Foot. We arrived at *Sankonk* in the Afternoon. The People of the Town were much disturbed at my coming, and received me in a very rough Manner. They surrounded me with drawn Knives in their Hands, in such a Manner that I could hardly get along; running up against me with their Breasts open, as if they wanted some Pretence to kill me. I saw by their Countenances they sought my Death. Their Faces were quite distorted with Rage, and they went so far as to say, I should not live long; but some *Indians* with whom I was formerly acquainted, coming up and saluting me in a friendly Manner, their Behaviour to me was quickly changed.

On the 21st, They sent Messengers to Fort *Duquesne* to let them know I was there, and invited them to their Fire. In the Afternoon I read to them all my Message, the *French* Captain being present, for he still continued with us: Upon which they were more
 kind

kind to me. In the Evening 15 more arrived here from *Kushkushkee*. The Men here now about 120.

22d. Arrived about 20 *Shawanese* and *Mingos*. I read to them the Message, at which they seemed well pleased. Then the two Kings came to me and spoke in the following Manner;

‘ Brother, We the *Shawanese* and *Mingos* have heard your Message; the Messenger we sent to Fort *Duquesne* is returned, and tells us, there are eight different Nations there who want to hear your Message; we will conduct you there and let both the *Indians* and *French* hear what our Brothers the *English* have to say.’ I protested against going to Fort *Duquesne*, but all in vain; for they insisted on my going, and said that I need not fear the *French*, for they would carry me in their Bosoms, i. e. engage for my Safety.

23d. We set off for Fort *Duquesne* and went no farther this Night than *Logs Town*, where I met with four *Shawanese*, who lived in *Wyoming* when I did. They received me very kindly, and called the Prisoners to shake Hands with me, as their Countryman, and gave me Leave to go into every House to see them, which was done in no Town besides.

24th. They called to me, and desired that I would write to the General for them. The Jealousy natural to the *Indians* is not to be described; for tho’ they wanted me to write for them, they were afraid I would, at the same time, give other Information, and this perplexed them. We continued our Journey to the Fort, and arrived in Sight on this Side the River in the Afternoon, and all the *Indian* Chiefs immediately came over; they called me into the Middle, and King *Beaver* presented me to them, and said, ‘ Here is our *English* Brother, who has brought great News.’ Two of them rose up and signified they were glad to see me. But an old deaf *Onondago Indian* rose up and signified his Displeasure. This *Indian* is much disliked by the others; he had heard nothing yet that had passed; he has lived here a great while, and constantly lives

lives in the Fort, and is mightily attached to the *French*; he spoke as follows to the *Delawares*. ‘ I don’t know this *Swannock* ||; it may be that you know him. *I*, the *Shawanese*, and our Father*, don’t know him. I stand here (stamping his Foot) as a Man on his own Ground †; therefore I, the *Shaw- anese* and my Father, don’t like that a *Swannock* come on our Ground.’—Then there was Silence awhile till the Pipe went round ‡; after that was over, one of the *Delawares* rose up, and spoke in Opposition to him that spoke last, and delivered himself as follows.

‘ That Man speaks not as a Man; he endeavours to frighten us, by saying this is his Ground; he dreams; he and his Father have certainly drank too much Liquor; they are drunk, pray let them go to sleep till they be sober. You don’t know what your own Nation does at Home; how much they have to say to the *Swannocks*. You are quite rotten. You stink §. You do nothing but smoke your Pipe here. Go to sleep with your Father, and when you are sober we will speak to you.’

After this, the *French* demanded me of the *Indians*. They said it was a Custom among the white People when a Messenger came, even if it was the Governor, to blind his Eyes and lead him into the Fort, to a Prison or private Room. They, with some of the *Indians*, insisted very much on my being sent into the Fort, but to no Purpose; for the other *Indians* said to the *French*, ‘ It may be a Rule among you, but we have brought him here, that all the *Indians* might see him, and hear what our Brothers the *English* have to say; and

|| i. e. This *Englishman*.

* By Father, they express the *French*.

† By *I*, he here means, *I* the Six Nations, of which the *Onondagoes* are one of the greatest. This was therefore a Claim of the *Onondagoes* Lands, as belonging to the Six Nations, exclusive of the *Delawares*, whom they formerly called *Women*.

‡ The *Indians* smoke in their Councils.

§ That is, The Sentiments you express, are offensive to the Company.

* we will not suffer him to be blinded and carried into the Fort.' The *French* still insisted on my being delivered to them; but the *Indians* desired them, to let them hear no more about it; but to send them 100 Loaves of Bread, for they were hungry.

25th. This Morning early they sent us over a large Bullock, and all the Indian Chiefs came over again, and counselled a great deal among themselves; then the *Delaware*, that handled the old deaf *Onondago Indian* so roughly Yesterday, addrest himself to him in this Manner; ' I hope To-day you are sober. I am certain you did not know what you said Yesterday. You endeavoured to frighten us; but know, *we are now Men*, and not so easily frightened. You said something Yesterday of the *Shawanese*; see here what they have sent you' (*presenting him with a large Roll of Tobacco.*)

Then the old deaf *Indian* rose up and acknowledged he had been in the Wrong; said that he had now *cleaned himself*,* and hoped they would forgive him.

Then the *Delaware* Indian delivered the Message that was sent by the *Shawanese*, which was, ' That they hoped the *Delawares*, &c. would be strong †, in what they were undertaking; that they were extremely proud to hear such good News from their Brothers the *English*; that whatever Contracts they made with the *English*, the *Shawanese* would agree to; that they were their Brothers, and that they loved them.'

The *French* whispered to the *Indians*, as I imagined, to insist on my delivering what I had to say, on the other Side of the Water; which they did to no Purpose, for my Company still insisted on a Hearing on this Side of the Water. The *Indians* crossed the River to council with their *Fathers* ‡. My Company desired to know whether they would hear me or no. This Afternoon 300 *Canadians* arrived at the Fort, and

* That is, he had changed his offensive Sentiments.

† That is, that they would act vigorously.

‡ The *French* at the Fort.

and reported that 600 more were soon to follow them, and 40 Battoes laden with Ammunition. Some of my Party desired me not to stir from the Fire, for that the *French* had offered a great Reward for my Scalp, and that there were several Parties out on that Purpose. Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the Fire as if I had been chained there.

26th. The Indians with a great many of the *French* Officers came over to hear what I had to say. The Officers brought with them a Table, Pens, Ink and Paper. I spoke in the Middle of them with a free Conscience, and perceived by the Look of the *French* they were not pleased with what I said; the Particulars of which were as follows;—I spoke in the Name of the Government and People of *Pensilvania*.

‘ Brethren at *Allegheny*, We have a long Time desired to see and hear from you; you know the Road was quite stopt, and we did not know how to come through. We have sent many Messengers to you, but we did not hear of you, now we are very glad we have found an Opening to come and see you, and to speak with you, and to hear your true Mind and Resolution. We salute you very heartily.

A String, No. I.

‘ Brethren at *Allegheny*; take Notice of what I say. You know that the bad Spirit has brought something between us, that has kept us at a Distance one from another; I now by this Belt take every Thing out of the Way that the bad Spirit has brought between us, and all the Jealousy and Fearfulness we had of one another, and whatever else the bad Spirit might have poisoned your Heart and Mind with. I now, by this Belt, clear every Thing away that the bad Spirit might have corrupted and poisoned the Heart and Mind with, that nothing of it may be left. Moreover, let us look up to God, and beg for his Assistance, that he may put into our Hearts what pleases him, and join us close in that brotherly Love and

K

‘ Friend-

‘ Friendship, which our Grandfathers had. We assure you of our Love towards you.

A Belt of 11 Rows.

‘ Brothers at *Allegheny*, hearken to what I say :

‘ We began to hear of you from *Wellemeghibink*, who returned from *Allegheny*. We heard you had had but a slight confused Account of us, and did not know of the Peace we made twelve Months past in *Easton*. It was then agreed, that the large Belt of Peace should be sent to you at *Allegheny*. As these our two old Friends from *Allegheny*, who are well known to many here, found an Opening to come to our Council Fire, to see with their own Eyes, to sit with us Face to Face, to hear with their own Ears every Thing that has been transacted between us ; it gives me and all the People of the Province great Pleasure to see them among us. And I assure all my Brethren at *Allegheny*, that nothing would please me and all the People of the Province better, than to see our Countrymen the *Delawares* well settled among us.

A Belt.

‘ Hearken, my Brethren at *Allegheny*. When we began to make Peace with the *Delawares* Twelve Months ago in Behalf of Ten other Nations, we opened the Road, and cleared the Bushes from the Blood, and gathered all the Bones on both Sides together ; and when we had brought them together in one Heap, we could find no Place to bury them : We would not bury them as our Grandfathers did. They buried them under Ground where they may be found again. We prayed to God that he would have Mercy on us, and take all these Bones away from us, and hide them that they might never be found any more ; and take from both Sides all the Remembrance of them out of our Heart and Mind. And we have a firm Confidence that God will be pleased to take all the Bones and hide them from us, that they may never be

‘ be remembered by us while we live, nor our Children, nor Grand-Children hereafter. The Hatchet was buried on both Sides, and large Belts of Peace exchanged. Since we have cleared every Thing from the Heart, and taken every Thing out of the Way ; now my Brethren at *Allegheny*, every one that hears me, if you will join with us in that brotherly Love and Friendship, which our Grandfathers had, we assure you, that all past Offences shall be forgotten, and never more talked of by us, our Children and Grand Children hereafter. This Belt assures you of our Sincerity, and honest and upright Heart towards you.

A Belt of 7 Rows.

‘ Hearken, Brethren at *Allegheny*. I have told you that we really made Peace with Part of your Nation Twelve Months past ; I now by this Belt open the Road from *Allegheny* to our Council-Fire, where your Grandfathers kept good Councils with us, that all may pass without Molestation or Danger. You must be sensible, that unless a Road be kept open, People at Variance can never come together to make up their Differences. Messengers are free in all Nations throughout the World, by a particular Token. Now Brethren at *Allegheny*, I desire you will join with me in keeping the Road open, and let us know in what Manner we may come free to you, and what the Token shall be. I join both my Hands to yours and will do all in my Power to keep the Road open.

A Belt of 7 Rows.

‘ Now, Brethren at *Allegheny*, hear what I say. Every one that lays hold of this Belt of Peace, I proclaim Peace to them from the *English* Nation, and let you know that the great King of *England* does not incline to have War with the *Indians*, but he wants to live in Peace and Love with them, if they

‘ will lay down the Hatchet and leave off War against him.

‘ We love you farther ; we let you know that the great King of *England* has sent a great Number of Warriors into this Country, not to go to war against the *Indians* in their Towns, no not at all ;—These Warriors are going against the *French*, they are on the March to the *Ohio* to revenge the Blood they have shed. And by this Belt I take you by the Hand, and lead you at a Distance from the *French*, for your own Safety, that your Legs may not be stained with Blood. Come away on this Side of the Mountain, where we may oftner converse together, and where your own Flesh and Blood lives. We look upon you as our Countrymen that sprung out of the same Ground with us ; we think therefore that it is our Duty to take Care of you, and we in brotherly Love advise you to come away with your whole Nation, and as many of your Friends as you can get to follow you. We don’t come to hurt you, we love you, therefore we do not call you to War, that you may be slain,—What Benefit will it be to you to go to war with your own Flesh and Blood ? We wish you may live without Fear or Danger with your Women and Children.

The large Peace Belt.

‘ Brethren, I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your Satisfaction ; my Wish is that we may join close together in that old brotherly Love and Friendship which our Grandfathers had, so that all the Nations may hear and see us and have the Benefit of it ; and if you have any Uneasiness or Complaint in your Heart and Mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened the Road to the Council-Fire, therefore my Brethren come and acquaint the Governor of it ; you will be readily heard and full Justice done you.

A Belt.

‘ Bre-

‘ Brethren,

‘ One Thing I must bring to your Remembrance.
 ‘ You know if any Body loses a little Child, or some
 ‘ Body takes it from him, he cannot be easy, he will
 ‘ think on his Child by Day and Night : Since our
 ‘ Flesh and Blood is in Captivity in the *Indian Towns*,
 ‘ we desire you will rejoice the Country’s Heart and
 ‘ bring them to me, I shall stretch out my Arms to
 ‘ receive you kindly.

A String.

After I had done, I left my Belts and Strings still before them. The *Delawares* took them all up, and laid them before the *Mingoes* *, upon which they rose up and spoke as follows.

‘ *Chau*, What I have heard pleases me well, I don’t
 ‘ know why I go to war against the *English*. *Noques*,
 ‘ What do you think? You must be strong. I did
 ‘ not begin the War, therefore I have little to say, but
 ‘ whatever you agree to I will do the same.’ Then he
 addressed himself to the *Shewanese*, and said, ‘ You
 ‘ brought the Hatchet to us from the *French*, and per-
 ‘ suaded us to strike our Brothers the *English*; you
 ‘ may consider (laying the Belts, &c. before them,)
 ‘ wherefore you have done this.’

The *Shewanese* acknowledged they received the Hatchet from the *French*, who persuaded them to strike the *English*; that they would now send the Belts to all the *Indians*, and in twelve Days would meet again.

Present at this Council, Three hundred *French* and *Indians*. They all took Leave and went over again to the Fort, but my Companions who were about Seventy in Number.

Shamokin Daniel who came with me, went over to the Fort by himself (which my Companions disapproved of) and counselled with the Governor; who presented him with a laced Coat and Hat, a Blanket, Shirts,

* The Six Nation Indians.

Ribbons, a new Gun, Powder, Lead, &c. When he returned he was quite changed, and said, ' See here ' you Fools, what the *French* have given me. I was ' in *Philadelphia* and never received a Farthing; and ' (directing himself to me) said, the *English* are ' Fools and so are you.' In short, he behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious Manner. He further said, the *English* never give the *Indians* any Powder, and that the *French* would have given him a Horse-Load if he would have taken it; ' See that young ' Man there, he was in *Philadelphia* and never got ' any Thing; I will take him over to the *French* and ' get some Cloathing for him.'

Three *Indians* informed me, that as soon as the *French* got over, they called a Council with their own *Indians*, among whom there happened accidentally to be a *Delaware* Captain, who was privately invited by one of his Acquaintance to hear what the *French* had to say; and when they were assembled, the *French* spoke as follows:

' My Children, now we are alone, hearken to what ' I have to say. I perceive the *Delawares* are waver- ' ing; they incline to the *English*, and will be faith- ' ful to us no longer. Now all their Chiefs are here, ' and but a handful, let us cut them off, and then ' we shall be troubled with them no longer.' Then the *Tawaas* answered, No, ' We can't do this Thing; ' for, though there is but a Handful here, the *Delawares* are a strong People, and are spread to a great ' Distance, and whatever they do agree to, must be.'

This Afternoon, in Council, on the other Side of the River, the *French* insisted that I must be delivered up to them, and that it was not lawful for me to go away; which occasioned a Quarrel between them and the *Indians*, who immediately came away and crossed the River to me; and some of them let me know, that *Daniel* had received a String from the *French* to leave me there; but 'twas to no Purpose, for they would not give their Consent; and then agreed, that I should set off before Day the next Morning.

27th. Accordingly I set out before day, with six *Indians*, and took another Road that we might not be seen; the main Body told me they would stay behind, to know whether the *French* would make an Attempt to take me by Force; that if they did, they the *Indians* would endeavour to prevent their crossing the River, and coming secretly upon me. Just as I set off the *French* fired all their great Guns, it being Sunday (I counted nineteen) and concluded they did the same every Sabbath. We passed thro' three *Shawane* Towns, the *Indians* appeared very proud to see me return, and we arrived about Night at *Sawcunk*, where they were likewise very glad to see me return. Here I met with the two Captains, who treated me so uncivilly before; they now received me very kindly and accepted of my Hand and apologized for their former rude Behaviour. Their Names are *Kuckquetackton* and *Killbuck*. They said,

‘ Brother, we in behalf of the People of *Sawcunk* desire that you will hold fast what you have begun, and be strong*. We are but little and poor, and therefore cannot do much. You are rich, and must go on and be strong. We have done all in our Power towards bringing about a Peace: We have had a great Quarrel about you with the *French*, but we don’t mind them. Do you make haste, and be strong, and let us see you again.’ The said *Killbuck* is a great Captain and Conjuror; he desired me to mention him to the Governor, and ask him if he would be pleased to send him a good Saddle by the next Messenger; and that he would do all in his Power for the Service of the *English*.

28th. We set out from *Sawcunk*, in Company with twenty, for *Kushcushkee*; on the Road *Shingas* addressed himself to me, and asked, if I did not think, that if he came to the *English* they would hang him,

* That is, go on steadily with this good Work of establishing a Peace.

as they had offered a great Reward for his Head. He spoke in a very soft and easy Manner. I told him, that was a great while ago, 'twas all forgotten and wiped clean away; that the *English* would receive him very kindly.—Then *Daniel* interrupted me, and said to *Shingas*, ‘Don’t believe him, he tells nothing but idle lying Stories. Wherefore did the *English* hire 1200 *Indians* * to kill us.’ I protested it was false; he said, ‘G-d d—n you † for a Fool; did not you see the Woman lying in the Road that was killed by the *Indians* that the *English* hired.’ I said, ‘Brother, do consider how many thousand *Indians* the *French* have hired to kill the *English*, and how many they have killed along our Frontiers.’ Then *Daniel* said, ‘D—n you, why don’t you and the *French* fight on the Sea? You come here only to cheat the poor *Indians*, and take their Land from them.’ Then *Shingas* told him to be still, for he did not know what he said. We arrived at *Kushcuskeke* before Night, and I informed *Pisquetumen* of *Daniel*’s Behaviour, at which he appeared sorry.

29th. I dined with *Shingas*; he told me, tho’ the *English* had set a great Price on his Head, he had never thought to revenge himself, but was always very kind to any Prisoners that were brought in; and that he assured the Governor, he would do all in his Power to bring about an establish’d Peace, and wished he could be certain of the *English* being in earnest.

Then seven Chiefs present said, when the Governor sends the next Messenger, let him send two or three white Men at least to confirm the Thing, and not send such a Man as *Daniel*; they did not understand him, he always speaks, said they, as if he was drunk; and if a great many of them had not known

* The *Cherokees*, meaning.

† Some of the first *English* Speech that the *Indians* learn from the Traders is Swearing.

me, they should not know what to think; for every Thing I said, he contradicted. I assured them I would faithfully inform the Governor of what they said, and they should see, as Messengers, otherguise *Indians* than *Daniel* for the time to come; and I farther informed them, that he was not sent by the Governor, but came of his own Accord, and I would endeavour to prevent his coming again.—*Daniel* demanded of me his Pay, and I gave him three Dollars, and he took as much Wampum from me as he pleased, and would not suffer me to count it. I imagined there was about two thousand.

About Night, nine *Tawaas* past by here in their Way to the *French* Fort.

30th and 31st. The *Indians* feasted greatly, during which time I several Times begged of them to consider and dispatch me.

September 1st. *Shingas*, *King-Beaver*, *Delaware-George*, and *Pisquetumen* with several other Captains, said to me, ‘ Brother, we have thought a great deal ‘ since God has brought you to us, and this is a Mat- ‘ ter of great Consequence which we can’t readily an- ‘ swer; we think on it, and will answer you as soon ‘ as we can. Our Feast hinders us; all our young ‘ Men, Women and Children are glad to see you: ‘ before you came they all agreed together to go and ‘ join the *French*, but since they have seen you they ‘ all draw back; ’tho we have great Reason to be- ‘ lieve, you intend to drive us away and settle the ‘ Country, or else why do you come to fight in the ‘ Land that God has given us.’

I said, we did not intend to take the Land from them, but only to drive the *French* away; they said they knew better, for that they were informed so by one of our greatest Traders, and some Justices of the Peace had told them the same, and the *French*, said they, tell us much the same Thing, ‘ That the *En- ‘ glish* intend to destroy us and take our Lands from ‘ us, but that they are come only to defend us and ‘ our Lands; but the Land is ours, and not theirs, ‘ there-

' therefore we say, if you will be at Peace with us,
 ' we will send the *French* home. 'Tis you that have
 ' begun the War, and 'tis necessary that you hold
 ' fast and be not discouraged in the Work of Peace.
 ' We love you more than you love us; for when we
 ' take any Prisoners from you, we treat them as our
 ' own Children. We are poor, and yet we cloath
 ' them as well as we can, tho' you see our own Chil-
 ' dren are as naked as at the first. By this you may
 ' see that our Hearts are better than yours. 'Tis
 ' plain that you white People are the Cause of this
 ' War; why don't you and the *French* fight in the
 ' old Country, and on the Sea? Why do you come
 ' to fight on our Land? This makes every Body be-
 ' lieve you want to take the Land from us, by force,
 ' and settle it *.' I told them, ' Brothers, as for my
 ' part I have not one Foot of Land, nor do I desire
 ' to have any; and if I had any Land, I had rather
 ' give it to you, than take any from you. Yes, Bro-
 ' ther, if I dye, you will get a little more Land from
 ' me, for I shall then no longer walk on that Ground
 ' which God has made. We told you that you should
 ' keep nothing in your Heart, but bring it before the
 ' Council Fire, and before the Governor and his
 ' Council, they will readily hear you; and I promise
 ' you, what they answer they will stand to. I further
 ' read to you what Agreements they made about *Wy-*
 ' *oming* †, and they stand to them.'

* The *Indians* having plenty of Land, are no Niggards of it. They sometimes give large Tracts to their Friends freely, and when they sell it, they make most generous Bargains. But some *fraudulent Purchases*, in which they were grossly imposed on, and some *violent Intrusions*, imprudently and wickedly made without Purchase, have rendered them jealous that we intend finally to take all from them by Force. We should endeavour to recover our Credit with them by fair Purchases and honest Payments; and then there is no doubt but they will readily sell us at reasonable Rates as much from Time to Time as we can possibly have occasion for.

† The Agreement made with *Teedyuscung* that he should enjoy the *Wyoming* Lands, and have Houses built there for him and his People.

They

They said, ' Brother, your Heart is good, you
 ' speak always sincerely, but we know there are al-
 ' ways a great Number of People that want to get
 ' rich, they never have enough: Look, we don't
 ' want to be rich and take away that which others
 ' have. God has given you the tame Creatures, we
 ' dont want to take them from you. God has given
 ' to us the Deer, and other wild Creatures, which we
 ' must feed on; and we rejoice in that which springs
 ' out of the Ground, and thank God for it. Look
 ' now my Brother, the white People think we have
 ' no Brains in our Heads, but that they are great and
 ' big, and that makes them make War with us: We
 ' are but a little handful to what you are; but re-
 ' member, when you look for a wild Turkey you
 ' can't always find it, 'tis so little it hides itself under
 ' the Bushes: And when you hunt for a Rattle-Snake,
 ' you cannot find it; and perhaps it will bite you be-
 ' fore you see it. However, since you are so great
 ' and big, and we so little, do you use your Greatness
 ' and Strength in compleating this Work of Peace.
 ' This is the first Time that we saw or heard of you
 ' since the War begun, and we have great Reason to
 ' think about it, since such a great Body * of you
 ' comes in our Lands. It is told us, that you and the
 ' *French* contrived the War to waste the *Indians* be-
 ' tween you, and that you and the *French* intended
 ' to divide the Land between you: This was told us
 ' by the chief of the *Indian* Traders; and they said
 ' further, Brothers, this is the last Time we shall
 ' come among you, for the *French* and *English* in-
 ' tend to kill all the *Indians*, and then divide the
 ' Land amongst themselves.' Then they addressed
 themselves to me, and said, ' Brother, I suppose you
 ' know something about it, or has the Governor stop-
 ' ped your Mouth that you cannot tell us.'

* The Army under General *Forbes*.

Then

Then I said, ‘ Brothers, I am very sorry to see you
 ‘ so jealous. I am your own Flesh and Blood, and
 ‘ sooner than I would tell you any Story, that would
 ‘ be of hurt to you or your Children, I would suffer
 ‘ Death; and if I did not know, that it was the De-
 ‘ sire of the Governor, that we should renew our old
 ‘ brotherly Love and Friendship that subsisted be-
 ‘ tween our Grandfathers, I would not have under-
 ‘ taken this Journey. I do assure you of mine and the
 ‘ People’s honesty. If the *French* had not been here,
 ‘ the *English* would not have come; and consider,
 ‘ Brothers, how many People have been killed, since
 ‘ the *French* have been here, and then consider, Bro-
 ‘ thers, whether in such a Case we can always sit
 ‘ still.’

They then said, ‘ ’Tis a thousand Pities we did not
 ‘ know this sooner; if we had, it would have been
 ‘ Peace long before now.’

Then I said, ‘ My Brothers, I know you have
 ‘ been wrongly persuaded by many wicked People;
 ‘ for you must know, there are a great many Papists
 ‘ in the Country in *French* Interest, who appear like
 ‘ Gentlemen, and have sent many runaway *Irish* Pa-
 ‘ pists Servants * among you, who have put bad No-
 ‘ tions into your Heads, and strengthened you against
 ‘ your Brothers the *English*.—Brothers, I beg that
 ‘ you would not believe every idle and false Story,
 ‘ that ill designing People may bring to you, against
 ‘ us your Brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying
 ‘ and foolish People say, but let us hear what wise
 ‘ and good People say, they will tell us what’s good
 ‘ for us and our Children.’

* The *Indian* Traders used to buy the transported *Irish* and other
 Convicts as Servants, to be employed in carrying up the Goods
 among the *Indians*: Many of those ran away from their Masters
 and joined the *Indians*. The ill Behaviour of these People has al-
 ways hurt the Character of the *English* among the *Indians*.

Mem. There are a great Number of *Irish* Traders now among the *Indians*, who have always endeavoured to spirit up the *Indians* against the *English*; which made some, that I was acquainted with from their Infancy, desire the Chiefs to enquire of me, for that they were certain I would speak the Truth.

Pisquetumen now told me, we could not go to the General, that it was very dangerous, the *French* having sent out several Scouts to wait for me on the Road.—And farther, *Pisquetumen* told me, 'twas a Pity the Governor had no *Ear** to bring him in Intelligence; that the *French* had three Ears, whom they rewarded with great Presents; and signified, that he and *Shingas* would be Ears at the Service of his Honour if he pleased.——

2d. I bad *Shingas* to make haste and dispatch me, and once more desired to know of them, if it was possible for them to guide me to the General. Of all which they told me they would consider; and *Shingas* gave me his Hand and said, 'Brother, the next Time you come I will return with you to *Philadelphia*, and will do all in my Power to prevent any Body's coming to hurt the *English* more.'——

3d. To Day I found myself unwell, and made a little Tea, which refreshed me. Had many very pretty Discourses with *George*. In the Afternoon they called a Council together and gave me the following Answer in Council; the Speaker addressing the Governor and People of *Pennsylvania*:

'Brethren, it is a great many Days since we have seen and heard you †. I now speak to you in Behalf of all the Nations that have heard you heretofore.

* No Spy among his Enemies.

† That is, Since we had a friendly Intercourse with each other. The frequent Repetition of the Word *Brethren*, is the Effect of their Rules of Politeness, which enjoin in all Conversations a constant Remembrance of the Relation subsisting between the Parties, especially where that Relation implies any Affection or Respect. It is like the perpetual Repetitions among us of *Sir*, or *Madam*, or *your Lordship*. In the same Manner the *Indians* at every Sentence repeat, *My Father*, *my Uncle*, *my Cousin*, *my Brother*, *my Friend*, &c.

'Bre-

‘ Brethren, it is the first Message which we have seen
 ‘ or heard from you. Brethren, you have talked of
 ‘ that Peace and Friendship which we had formerly
 ‘ with you. Brethren, we tell you to be strong, and
 ‘ always remember that Friendship which we had
 ‘ formerly. Brethren, we desire you would be strong,
 ‘ and let us once more hear of our good Friendship
 ‘ and Peace we had formerly. Brethren, we desire
 ‘ that you make haste and let us soon hear of you
 ‘ again ; for as yet we have not heard you rightly.

Gives a String.

‘ Brethren, hear what I have to say : Look,
 ‘ Brethren, we who have now seen and heard you, we
 ‘ who are present are Part of all the several Nations
 ‘ that heard you some Days ago ; we see that you
 ‘ are sorry we have not that Friendship we formerly
 ‘ had.—

‘ Look, Brethren, we at *Allegheny* are likewise sorry
 ‘ we have not that Friendship with you we formerly
 ‘ had. Brethren, we long for that Peace and Friend-
 ‘ ship we had formerly. Brethren, it is good that
 ‘ you desire that Friendship that was formerly among
 ‘ our Fathers and Grandfathers. Brethren, we will
 ‘ tell you, you must not let that Friendship be quite
 ‘ lost which was formerly between us. Now, Bre-
 ‘ thren, it is three Years since we dropt that Peace
 ‘ and Friendship which we formerly had with you.
 ‘ Brethren, it was dropt, and lay buried in the
 ‘ Ground where you and I stand, in the Middle be-
 ‘ tween us both. Brethren, I see you have digged
 ‘ up and revived that Friendship which was buried in
 ‘ the Ground ; and now you have it, hold it fast. Do
 ‘ be strong, Brethren, and exert yourselves, that that
 ‘ Friendship may be well established and finished be-
 ‘ tween us. Brethren, if you will be strong, it is in
 ‘ your Power to finish that Peace and Friendship
 ‘ well. Therefore, Brethren, we desire you to be
 ‘ strong and establish it, and make known to all the
 ‘ *English* this Peace and Friendship, that it may em-
 ‘ brace all and cover all. As you are of one Nation
 ‘ and

‘ and Colour in all the *English* Governments, so let
 ‘ the Peace be the same with all. Brethren, when
 ‘ you have finished this Peace which you have begun;
 ‘ when it is known every where amongst your Bre-
 ‘ thren, and you have every where agreed together
 ‘ on this Peace and Friendship, then you will be
 ‘ pleased to send the great Peace-Belt to us at the
 ‘ *Allegheny*.——

‘ Brethren, when you have settled this Peace and
 ‘ Friendship, and finished it well, and you send the
 ‘ great Peace-Belt to me, I will send it to all the Na-
 ‘ tions of my Colour, they will all join to it and we
 ‘ all will hold it fast.——

‘ Brethren, when all the Nations join to this
 ‘ Friendship, then the Day will begin to shine clear
 ‘ over us. When we hear once more of you, and
 ‘ we join together, then the Day will be still, and
 ‘ no Wind or Storm will come over us to disturb us.
 ‘ Now, Brethren, you know our Hearts and what
 ‘ we have to say; be strong; if you do what we
 ‘ have now told you, in this Peace all the Nations
 ‘ agree to join. Now, Brethren, let the King of
 ‘ *England* know what our Mind is as soon as possibly
 ‘ you can*.”

Gives a Belt of eight Rows.

I received the above Speech and Belt from the
 underwritten, who are all Captains and Counsel-
 lers.——

Beaver, King.
Delaware George,
Pisquetomen,
Tasucamin,
Awakanomin,
Cushawmекtoy,
Keykeynapalin,

Captain Peter,
Macomal,
Popauce,
Wasbaocautaut,
Cochquacaukeblton,
John Hickomen, and
Kill Buck.

Delaware

* In this Speech the *Indians* carefully guard the Honour of their
 Nation, by frequently intimating, that the Peace is sought by the
English. ‘ You have talked of Peace: You are sorry for the War:
 ‘ You have digged up the Peace that was buried,’ &c. Then they
 declare their Readiness to grant Peace, if the *English* agree to its be-
 ing

Delaware George spoke as follows :

‘ Look, Brothers, we are here of three different Nations. I am of the *Unami* Nation : I have heard all the Speeches that you have made to us with the many other Nations.

‘ Brothers, you did let us know, that every one that takes hold of this Peace Belt, you would take them by the Hand and lead them to the Council Fire where our Grandfathers kept good Councils. So soon as I heard this, I took hold of it.

‘ Brother, I now let you know that my Heart never was parted from you. I am sorry that I should make Friendship with the *French* against the *English*. I now assure you my Heart sticks close to the *English* Interest. One of our great Captains, when he heard it, he immediately took hold of it as well as myself. Now, my Brother, I let you know that you shall soon see me by your Council Fire, and then I shall hear from you myself the plain Truth in every Respect.

‘ I love that which is good, like as our Grandfathers did : They chose to speak the Sentiments of their Mind : All the *five Nations* know me, and know that I always spoke Truth ; and so you shall find, when I come to your Council Fire.’

Gives a String.

The above *Delaware George* had in Company with him

Cushawmektoy,
Kebkeknopatin,
Captain *Peter,*

John Peter,
Stinfeor.

4th. Present *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Pisquetumen*, and several others. I asked what they meant by saying *they had not rightly heard me yet*. They said, ‘ Brother, you very well know that you have col-

ing general for all the Colonies. The *Indian* Word, that is translated *be strong*, so often repeated, is an Expression they use to spirit up Persons who have undertaken some difficult Task, as to lift or move a great Weight, or execute a difficult Enterprize ; nearly equivalent to our Word *Courage ! Courage !*

‘ lected

' lected all your young Men about the Country,
 ' which makes a large Body *; and now they are
 ' standing *before our Doors* †, you come with good
 ' News and fine Speeches. Brother, this is what
 ' makes us jealous, and we don't know what to
 ' think of it: If you had brought the News of
 ' Peace before your Army had begun to march, it
 ' would have caused a great deal more good. We
 ' don't so readily believe you, because a great many
 ' great Men and Traders have told us, long before
 ' the War, that you and the *French* intended to join
 ' and cut all the *Indians* off. These were People of
 ' your own Colour and your own Country Men;
 ' and some told us to join the *French*, for that
 ' they would be our Fathers: Besides, many Runa-
 ' ways have told us the same Story; and some we
 ' took Prisoners told us how you would use us if
 ' you caught us: Therefore, Brother, I say, we
 ' can't conclude at this Time, but must see and hear
 ' you once more.' And, further, they said, ' Now,
 ' Brother, you are here with us, you are our Flesh
 ' and Blood, speak from the Bottom of your Heart,
 ' will not the *French* and *English* join together to cut
 ' off the *Indians*; speak, Brother, from your Heart
 ' and tell us the Truth, and let us know who were
 ' the Beginners of the War.'

Then I delivered myself thus:

' Brothers, I love you from the Bottom of my Heart.
 ' I am extremely sorry to see the Jealousy so deeply
 ' rooted in your Hearts and Minds. I have told you
 ' the Truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hun-
 ' dred Times, it seems you would not rightly believe
 ' me. My *Indian* Brothers, I wish you would draw
 ' your Hearts to God, that He may convince you of
 ' the Truth.

' I do now declare before God, that the *English*
 ' never did, nor never will, join with the *French* to
 ' destroy you. As far as I know, the *French* are the

* Meaning General *Forbes's* Army.

† i.e. Just ready to enter our Country.

' Beginners of this War.—Brothers, about twelve
 ' Years ago, you may remember they had War with
 ' the *English*, and they both had agreed to Articles of
 ' Peace. The *English* gave up *Cape Breton* in *Acadia*,
 ' but the *French* never gave up the Part of that
 ' Country which they had agreed to give up, and in
 ' a very little Time made their Children strike the
 ' *English*. This was the first Cause of the War.
 ' Now, Brothers, if any Body strike you three
 ' Times, one after another, you still sit still and
 ' consider: They strike you again; then, my Bro-
 ' thers, you say 'tis Time, and you will rise up to de-
 ' fend yourselves. Now, my Brothers, this is ex-
 ' actly the Case between the *French* and *English*: Con-
 ' sider farther, my Brothers, what a great Number of
 ' our poor back Inhabitants have been killed since the
 ' *French* came to the *Ohio*. The *French* are the Cause
 ' of their Death, and if they were not there, the
 ' *English* would not trouble themselves to go there.
 ' They go no where to War but where the *French*
 ' are. Those wicked People that set you at Variance
 ' with the *English*, by telling you many wicked
 ' Stories, are Papists in the *French* Pay: Besides there
 ' are many among us in the *French* Service who appear
 ' like Gentlemen, and buy *Irish* Papist Servants and
 ' promise them great Rewards to run away to you and
 ' strengthen you against the *English* by making them
 ' appear as black as Devils.'—

This Day arrived here two hundred *French* and *In-*
dians on their Way to *Fort Duquesne*. They staid all
 Night. In the Middle of the Night King *Beaver's*
 Daughter died, on which a great many Guns were
 fired in the Town.

5th. It made a general Stop in my Journey. The
French said to their Children, they should catch me
 privately or get my Scalp. The Commander wanted
 to examine me as he was going to *Fort Duquesne*.
 When they told me of it, I said, as he was going to
Fort Duquesne, he might enquire about me there: I
 had nothing at all to say or do with the *French*:

They

They would tell them every Particular they wanted to know in the Fort. They all came into the House where I was as if they would see a new Creature.

In the Afternoon there came six *Indians* and brought three *German* Prisoners, and two Scalps of the *Cata-baws*.

As *Daniel* blamed the *English* that they never paid him for his Trouble, I asked him whether he was pleased with what I paid him. He said, 'No.' I said, 'Brother, you took as much as you pleased. I asked you whether you was satisfied; you said, 'Yes.' I told him I was ashamed to hear him blame the Country so. I told him, 'You shall have for this Journey whatever you desire, when I reach the Inhabitants.'—

6th. *Pisquetumen*, *Tom Hickman* and *Shingas* told me, 'Brother, it is good that you have stayed so long with us; we love to see you, and wish to see you here longer; but since you are so desirous to go, you may set off To-morrow: *Pisquetumen* has brought you here, and he may carry you Home again: You have seen us, and we have talked a great Deal together, which we have not done for a long Time before. Now, Br ther, we love you, but can't help wondering why the *English* and *French* don't make it up with one another, and tell one another not to fight on our Land.'

I told them, 'Brother, if the *English* told the *French* so a thousand Times, they never would go away. Brother, you know so long as the World has stood there has not been such a War. You know when the *French* lived on the other Side, the War was there, and here we lived in Peace. Consider how many Thousand Men are killed and how many Houses are burned since the *French* lived here; if they had not been here it would not have been so; you know we don't blame you, we blame the *French*, they are the Cause of this War, therefore we don't come to hurt you, but to chastise the *French*.'

They told me that at the great Council held at *Onondago* among the *Five Nations* before the War began (*Conrad Weiser* was there and wrote every Thing down) it was said to the *Indians* at the *Ohio* that they should let the *French* alone there and leave it entirely to the *Five Nations*; the *Five Nations* would know what to do with them. Yet soon after two hundred *French* and *Indians* came and built *Fort Duquesne*.

King *Beaver* and *Shingas* spoke to *Pisquetumen*,
 ‘ Brother, you told us, that the Governor of *Philadelphia* and *Teedyuscung* took this Man out of their
 ‘ Bosoms and put him into your Bosom, that you
 ‘ should bring him here; and you have brought him
 ‘ here to us, and we have seen and heard him, and
 ‘ now we give him into your Bosom to bring him to
 ‘ the same Place again before the Governor; but don’t
 ‘ let him quite loose; we shall rejoice when we shall
 ‘ see him here again.’—They desired me to speak to the Governor in their Behalf as follows:

‘ Brother, we beg you to remember our oldest
 ‘ Brother *Pisquetumen*, and furnish him with good
 ‘ Cloaths and reward him well for his Trouble,
 ‘ for we all shall look upon him when he comes
 ‘ back.’—

7th. When we were ready to go they began to council which Course we should go to be safest, and then they hunted for the Horses, but could not find them, and so we lost that Day’s Journey. It is a troublesome Cross and heavy Yoke to draw this People: They can punish and squeeze a Body’s Heart to the utmost. I suspect the Reason they kept me here so long was by Instigation of the *French*. I remember somebody told me, the *French* told them to keep me twelve Days longer, for that they were afraid I should get back too soon and give Information to the General. My Heart has been very heavy here because they kept me for no Purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my Life, but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer:

Deliverer : I believe my Lord has been too strong against them, my Enemies have done what lies in their Power.

8th. We prepared for our Journey in the Morning, and made ourselves ready. There came some together and examined me what I had wrote Yesterday. I told them I wondered what need they had to concern themselves about my Writing. They said, if they knowed I had wrote about the Prisoners, they would not let me go out of the Town. I told them what I writ was my Duty to do. ‘ Brothers, I tell you I am
 ‘ not afraid of you if there were a thousand more.
 ‘ I have a good Conscience before God and Man. I
 ‘ tell you I have wrote nothing about the Prisoners.
 ‘ I tell you, Brothers, this is not good ; there’s a
 ‘ bad Spirit in your Heart which breeds that Jealousy,
 ‘ and it will keep you ever in Fear that you will
 ‘ never get Rest. I beg you would pray to God for
 ‘ Grace to resist that wicked Spirit that breeds such
 ‘ wicked Jealousies in you, which is the Reason you
 ‘ have kept me here so long. How often have I
 ‘ begged of you to dispatch me ? I am ashamed to
 ‘ see you so jealous : I am not in the least afraid of
 ‘ you. Have not I brought Writings to you ? and
 ‘ what, do you think I must not carry some Home to
 ‘ the Governor ? or shall I shut my Mouth and say
 ‘ nothing ? Look into your own Hearts and see if it
 ‘ would be right or wrong, if any Body gives a Salu-
 ‘ tation to their Friends, and it is not returned in the
 ‘ same Way. You told me many Times how kind
 ‘ you were to the Prisoners, and now you are afraid
 ‘ that any of them should speak to me.’—They told
 me they had Cause to be afraid, and then made a Draught and shewed me how they were surrounded with War. Then I told them, if they would be quiet and keep at a Distance, they need not fear. Then they went away, very much ashamed, one after another.—I told my Men that we should make haste and go ; and accordingly we set off in the Afternoon from *Kushkushkee* and came ten Miles.

9th. We took a little Foot-Path hardly to be seen. We lost it, and went through thick Bushes till we came to a Mire, which we did not see till we were in it, and *Tom Hickman* fell in and almost broke his Leg. We had hard Work before we could get the Horse out again. The Lord helped me that I got safe from my Horse. I and *Pisquetumen* had enough to do to come through. We passed many such Places: It rained all Day, and we got a double Portion of it because we received all that hung on the Bushes. We were as wet as if we were swimming all the Day, and at Night we laid ourselves down in a swampy Place to sleep, where we had nothing but the Heavens for our Covering.

10th. We had but little to live on. *Tom Hickman* shot a Deer on the Road. Every Thing here upon the *Ohio* is extremely dear, much more so than in *Pennsylvania*: I gave for one Dish of Corn four hundred and sixty *Wampum*. They told me that the Governor of Fort *Duquesne* kept a Store of his own, and that all the *Indians* must come and buy the Goods of him; and when they come to buy, he tells them, if they will go to War, they shall have as much Goods as they please.—Before I set off, I heard further, that a *French* Captain who goes to all the *Indian Towns**, came to *Sacunck*, and said, ‘Children, will not you come and help your Father against the *English*?’ They answered, ‘Why should we go to war against our Brethren? they are now our Friends.’ ‘O! Children,’ said he, ‘I hope you don’t own them for Friends.’ ‘Yes,’ said they, ‘we do; we are their Friends, and we hope they will remain ours.’ ‘O! Children,’ said he, ‘you must not believe what you have heard and what has been told you by that Man.’ They said to him, ‘Yes, we do believe him more than we do you: It was you that set us against them; and we will by and by have Peace with them.’ And

* He was sent to collect the *Indians* together to attack General *Forbes*’s Army once more on their March.

then he spoke not a Word more, but returned to the Fort.—So I hope some Good is done : Praised be the Name of the Lord.

11th. Being *Monday*, we went over *Antigoc*: We went down a vast steep Hill, and our Horses slipped so that I expected every Moment they would fall Heels over Head.—We found fresh *Indian* Tracks on the other Side of the River. We crossed *Allegheny* River, and went through the Bushes upon a high Hill and slept upon the Side of the Mountain without Fire for fear of the Enemy. It was a cold Night, and I had but a thin Blanket to cover myself.

12th. We made a little Fire to warm ourselves in the Morning. Our Horses began to be weary with climbing up and down these steep Mountains. We came this Night to the Top of a Mountain, where we found a Log-house. Here we made a small Fire just to boil ourselves a little Viſuals. The *Indians* were very much afraid, and lay with their Guns and Tomhocks on all Night. They heard somebody run and whisper in the Night. I slept very sound, and in the Morning they asked me if I was not afraid the Enemy *Indians* would kill me. I said ‘ No, I am not afraid of ‘ the *Indians* nor the Devil himself: I fear my great ‘ Creator God.’— ‘ Aye,’ they said, ‘ you know you ‘ will go to a good Place when you die; but we don’t ‘ know that; that makes us afraid.’

13th. In the Afternoon we twice crossed *Chowatin*, and came to *Poncheſtanning*, an old deserted *Indian* Town that lies on the same Creek. We went through a bad Swamp where was very thick sharp Thorns, so that they tore our Cloaths and Flesh, both Hands and Face, to a bad Degree. We had this kind of Road all the Day. In the Evening we made a Fire, and then they heard something rush in the Bushes as though they heard somebody walk. Then we went about three Gun-shot from our Fire, and could not find a Place to lye down for the innumerable Rocks; so that we were obliged to get small Stones

to fill up the hollow Places in the Rocks for our Bed ; but it was very uneasy ; almost Shirt and Skin grew together. They kept Watch one after another all Night.

14th. In the Morning I asked them what made them afraid. They said I knew nothing ; the *French* had set a great Price on my Head, and they knew there was gone out a great Scout to lye in wait for me. We went over great Mountains and a very bad Road.

15th. We came to *Susquebannah* and crossed it six Times, and came to *Catamarweskink*, where had been an old *Indian* Town. In the Evening there came three *Indians* and said they saw two *Indian* Tracks which came to the Place where we slept, and turned back as if to give Information of us to a Party ; so that we were sure they followed us.

16th and 17th. We crossed the Mountain.

18th. Came to the *Big Island*, where having nothing to live on, we were obliged to stay to hunt.

19th. We met with 20 Warriors who were returning from the Inhabitants, with five Prisoners and one Scalp ; six of them were *Delawares*, the rest *Mingoes*. We sat down all in one Ring together. I informed them where I had been and what was done ; they asked me to go back a little, and so I did, and slept all Night with them. I informed them of the Particulars of the Peace proposed ; they said, if they had known so much before, they would not have gone to War.—‘ Be strong ; if you make a good Peace, then ‘ we will bring all the Prisoners back again.’ They killed two Deer and gave me one.

20th. We took Leave of each other and went on our Journey, and arrived the 22d at Fort *Augusta* in the Afternoon, very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our Return from this tedious Journey.

There

There is not a prouder, or more high-minded People in themselves than the *Indians*. They think themselves the wisest and prudentest Men in the World, and look upon all the Rest of Mankind as Fools if they do not consent to their Way of thinking. They think themselves to be the strongest People in the World; and that they can overpower both the *French* and *English* when they please. The white People are in their Eyes nothing at all. They say that through their conjuring Craft they can do what they please, and nothing can withstand them. In their Way of fighting they have this Method, to see that they first shoot the Officers and Commanders; and then, they say, we shall be sure to have them. They also say, that if their Conjurers run through the Middle of our People, no Bullet can hurt them. They say too, that when they have shot the Commanders the Soldiers will all be confused, and will not know what to do. They say of themselves, that every one of them is like a King and Captain, and fights for himself. By this Way they imagine they can overthrow any Body of Men that may come against them. They say, 'The *English* People are Fools; they hold their Guns half Man high and then let them snap: We take Sight, and have them at a Shot, and so do the *French*.' They do not only shoot with a Bullet, but big Swan Shot. They say the *French* load with a Bullet and six Swan-Shot. They farther say, 'We take Care to have the first Shot at our Enemies, and then they are half dead before they begin to fight.'

The *Indians* are a People full of Jealousy, and will not easily trust any Body, and they are very easily affronted and brought into Jealousy; then afterwards they will have nothing at all to do with those they suspect; and it is not brought so easy out of their Minds; they keep it to their Graves, and leave the Seed of it in their Children and Grand-Children's Minds; so if they can they will revenge themselves

for every imagined Injury. They are a very distrustful People. Through their Imagination and Reason they think themselves a thousand Times stronger than all other People. *Fort du Quesne* is said to be undermined. The *French* have given out, that if we overpower them and they should die, we should certainly all die with them. When I came to the Fort, the Garrison, it was said, consisted of about one thousand four hundred Men, and I am told they will now be full three thousand *French* and *Indians*. They are almost all *Canadians*, and will certainly meet the General before he comes to the Fort, in an Ambush. You may depend upon it the *French* will make no open Field-Battle as in the old Country, but lie in Ambush. The *Canadians* are all Hunters. The *Indians* have agreed to draw back, but how far we may give Credit to their Promises the Lord knows. It is the best Way to be on our Guard against them, as if they really could with one thousand overpower eight thousand.

Thirty-two Nights I did lay in the Woods; the Heavens were my Covering. The Dew came so hard sometimes that it pinched close to the Skin. There was nothing that laid so heavy on my Heart as the Man that went along with me. He thwarted me in every Thing I said or did; not that he did it against *me* but against the *Country* on whose Business I was sent: I was afraid he would overthrow what I went about. When he was with the *Eng'ish* he would speak against the *French*, and when with the *French* against the *Eng'ish*. The *Indians* observed that he was a false Fellow, and desired me that I would not bring him any more to transact any Business between the *Eng'ish* and them; and told me it was through his Means I could not have the Liberty to talk with the Prisoners.

Praise and Glory be to the LAMB that has been slain, and brought me through the Country of dreadful Jealousy and Mistrust, where the Prince of this World

World has his Rule and Government over the Children of Disobedience.

The Lord has preserved me through all the Dangers and Difficulties that I have ever been under. He directed me according to his Will by his holy Spirit. I had no one to converse with but him. He brought me under a thick, heavy and dark Cloud into the open Air; for which I adore, praise and worship the Lord my God, that I know has grasped me in his Hands, and has forgiven me for all Sins, and sent and washed my Heart with his most precious Blood; that I now live not for myself, but for him that made me; and to do his holy Will is my Pleasure. I own that in the Children of Light there dwells another Kind of Spirit than there does in the Children of this World; therefore these two Spirits can't rightly agree in Fellowship.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST.

The Event of this Negotiation was, That the *Indians* refused to join the *French* in attacking General *Forbes*, to defeat him (as they had *Braddock*) on his March. So the *French*, despairing of the Fort if the General should arrive before it, burnt it, and left the Country with the utmost Precipitation.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, dated Dec. 10, 1758.

I attended the late Treaty at *Easton*. I wish I could say the same Conduct as usual was not pursued. During the whole Treaty two Things were laboured with the utmost Diligence; to lessen the Power of *Teedyuscung*, and to save, if possible, a certain Character. In both they failed; for *Teedyuscung*, instead of losing has increased his Power, and established himself at the Head of five Tribes. The *Indians* that lie to the North of us, between us and the Lakes, consist of three Leagues: The *Senekas*, *Mohawks*, and *Onondagoes*, who are called the Fathers, compose the first: The *Oncidas*, *Cayugas*, *Tuscororas*, *Nanticokes*, and *Conoys*, (which are united into one Tribe) and the *Tuteloës*, compose the second League; and these two Leagues make up what we call the *Six Nations*. The third League is formed of the *Chibobocki*, (or *Delawares*) the *Wanami*, the *Munseys*, *Mawhiccons*, and *Wapingers*. From all these Nations, except two or three, we had the chief Sachems with us at *Easton*. The whole Number of *Indians*, by the best Account we could get, amounted to 501. I send you a Copy of what I there took down from Day to Day; it may give you some Notion of the Proceeding at *Easton*, and inform you of several Things which I doubt not will be misrepresented. I was careful to set down nothing but what I heard or saw myself, or received from good Authority. The Intimacy I had with several of the *Indians*, and the Confidence they have been pleased to repose in me, gave me an Opportunity of being acquainted with what passed at the private Council.

On *Saturday*, Oct. 8, the Governor had the first Interview with the *Indians*, at which very little more passed than the Compliments usual at a first Meeting. *Monday* and *Tuesday* the *Indians* were in close Consultation

tation among themselves. The Place of their Meeting at *Croghan's*. And here let me observe, that it affords some Matter of Speculation, why *Croghan*, who is here in no public Capacity, should be honoured with a Guard at his Door. The Reason of the *Indians* meeting at his House is more easily accounted for, as he treats them with Liquor, and gives out that he himself is an *Indian*. The Subject in Debate these two Days, is, Whether what *Teedyuscung* has done shall stand, or they are to begin anew? The grand Thing aimed at by our Proprietary Managers, is to get *Teedyuscung* to retract the Charge of Fraud and Forgery. In order to gain this Point the *Senekas* and *Six Nations* are *privately* treated with and prompted to undo what has been done, in order, as is pretended, to establish their own Authority and gain the Credit of the Peace. *Teedyuscung*, and his People, absolutely refuse to retract any Thing they have said. He insists, that what was done in the Beginning of the War, was done by and with the Advice and Consent of the *Senekas*; that the Reasons he had assigned to the Governor for his striking the *English*, are the true and only Reasons. The Debates were warm. At Length it is agreed, that every Thing already transacted between *Teedyuscung* and the *English* shall stand; that at the opening the general Council, *Teedyuscung* shall make a short introductory Speech, after which the *Seneka* and other Chiefs, without invalidating any Thing already done, shall proceed to Business.

Matters thus settled, they break up on *Tuesday* about 11 o'Clock, and expect to meet the Governor immediately, but the Meeting is deferred till next Day.

On *Wednesday* Morning some of the Quakers got together the Chiefs and old Men of the several Tribes, in order to smoke a Pipe with them. After they had broken up, Mr. *Chew* of the Council, came to invite the Committee of Assembly to a Conference, in order to shew them the Speech the Governor intended to make to the *Indians*, and to take their Advice thereon;

thereon; it being before agreed on, that Nothing should be said to the *Indians*, but what the Committee of Assembly and Commissioners should be previously made acquainted with. The Council and Commissioners being agreed, the *Indians* are desired to meet; while the Chiefs were calling them together the Governors agree to go to Dinner, and desire the Meeting may be deferred till four o'Clock. As the *Indians* were met when they received this, that they might not scatter, they agree to sit down and wait at the Place of Meeting till the Time appointed. At four the Governors came, when they had taken their Seats, *Teedyuscung* arose and made a Motion to speak, but the Governor of *New Jersey* said, as he had not yet welcomed the *Indians*, he desired to be heard first, and after welcoming the *Indians* in the Name of his Province, he recapitulated what he had done to obtain an Interview with them, confirmed what he had said in the Messages he had sent them, professed his Desire to do them Justice, and live at Peace with them, but insisted upon their delivering up those of his People they had Prisoners among them, without which, he could never be convinced of their Sincerity. He farther added, that as the *Senecas* and *Cayugas* had undertaken to answer his Message to the *Munseys*, he was ready to hear what they, or any other *Indians* there, had to say respecting his Province.

As soon as he had done, *Teedyuscung* arose, and addressing the Governors said, that as he had been desired to invite down the several Nations of *Indians* he had any Intercourse with, he had done it; that here they were now met, and if they had any Thing to say to the *Indians*, or the *Indians* to them, they might now speak to each other; that for his own Part he had Nothing to do but to sit and hear; he had already told the Governor of *Pennsylvania* the Cause why he had struck him, and had concluded a Peace with him, for himself and his People, and that every Thing which could be done at present was concluded.

cluded and agreed upon, in order to secure a lasting Peace.

With this he gave a String.

Then *Tagashata* the *Seneka* arose and said, That he was very glad the Most High had brought them together with such good Countenances; but that the Day was now far spent, that the Business they were about was weighty and important; he therefore desired it might be deferred for the present, and that he might be heard To-morrow Morning early. On *Thursday* they met; the Conference was at first interrupted by *Teedyuscung* coming in drunk, and demanding of the Governor a Letter that the *Alleghenians* had sent by *Pisquetumen*. This Letter contained the Speech of the *Alleghenians*, in Answer to the Message delivered to them by *Frederic Post*. The *Indians* entrusted *Post* with the Carriage of it; but as he went from *Shamokin* to meet the General, he sent it down by the *Indians*, and by some Mistake inclosed it in a Packet to *Bethlehem*; so that when the *Indians* came to *Philadelphia* and met the Governor, in order to deliver their Speech and Belts, they found they had none. This gave them great Uneasiness, but the Governor informing them he expected *Post* at the Treaty, they agreed to go up to *Easton* and wait his Coming; and this they did the readier, as they had some Messages for *Teedyuscung*. But now being informed, that the Governor had received from *Bethlehem* the Letter containing their Speech, they desired *Teedyuscung* to request it of the Governor that it might be read, as they were eager to return, and a great deal depended on the Answer they were to carry back. As *Teedyuscung* was too drunk to do Business, Mr. *Peters* told him that the Letter should be read at another Time, and begged him to have a little Patience. This Bustle being over, *Tagashata* arose and spoke, approving what had been said by the Governor of the *Jerseys*, and declaring that the *Minisinks* had listened to the Advice of the *Senekas*, and laid down the Hatcher; and that they, the *Senekas*, had also sent the same Advice to
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the *Delawares* and *Minisinks* on the *Ohio*, and hoped they would regard it.—After the *Indians* had finished their Speeches, just as the Council was going to break up, Mr. *Norris*, Speaker of the Assembly, arose, and craved the Ear of the Governors, letting them know that he understood Reports were propagated among the *Indians* to his Prejudice, and that tended to raise Uneasiness among them, and set them against the People of the Province. He then called upon *Moses Tetamy*, a noted *Indian*, to declare whether he had heard of any Person spreading a Report among the *Indians*, that he was concerned in the Purchase of Lands at or near *Wyoming*. *Tetamy* observed, that *Teedyuscung* was too drunk to enter upon that Matter now. Mr. *Norris* then said, that as that was the Case, and as he was obliged to go Home Tomorrow, and could not attend another Meeting, he took this Opportunity, in the Presence of both the Governors, and of all the Gentlemen present, to declare that he was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in the Purchase of any Lands at or near *Wyoming*; and that whoever asserted the contrary erred against Truth; and he desired *Moses Tetamy* would inform the *Indians* of this.

This Speech was levelled against *G. Croghan*, who had been spreading some false Reports among the *Indians*, and endeavouring to set *Teedyuscung* against the People of the Province. As Mr. *Norris* had no Opportunity of canvassing the Matter publickly, in order to know what *Croghan* had said, he next Morning sent for *Teedyuscung*, who being asked what had passed between him and *George Croghan* respecting the *Wyoming* Lands, declared,

That in the Beginning of this Week, *G. Croghan* came to him and told him, that *Isaac Norris* and a Quaker who lived in *Philadelphia*, had been concerned with the *New-England* People in purchasing the Lands at *Wyoming*, and that they had paid the Money for the said Lands; that though they endeavoured to make the *Indians* easy and satisfied about it, yet whenever the *Indian* Claim to these Lands was mentioned, they
could

could not bear it, and were very uneasy about it ; that the said *G. Croghan* desired him (*Teedyuscung*) to say nothing about this Affair to any Body at this Treaty, and that if he did not, it was in the Power of him the said *George*, who acted by Virtue of a Commission from Sir *W. Johnson*, to set that Affair right, and to settle the *Indians* on the said Lands, notwithstanding what these Purchasers could do. And *Teedyuscung* declared, that if this should prove true, neither he, nor any other *Indians*, would settle on these Lands, but would resent the Injury.

This was interpreted by *Moses Tetamy*, in the Presence of *Amos Strickland*, *James Wharton*, *James Child*, and *Abel James*, who subscribed their Names as Evidences. And Mr. *Norris*, in order to satisfy *Teedyuscung* that the whole was a groundless Falshood, wrote and signed and delivered to *Teedyuscung* a solemn Declaration, that neither he, nor any one for him, to his Knowledge, was either directly, or indirectly, concerned in the Purchase of any Lands at or near *Wyoming*.

This done, he sent for *G. Croghan*, and read to him what *Teedyuscung* had charged him with ; which *Croghan* positively denied, and appealed to another *Indian* who was present at the Conversation : The other *Indian* being called upon, confirmed every Word that *Teedyuscung* had said. *Croghan* still persisted in denying it, and told a plausible Story which he said was the Subject of their Conversation, as he could shew from his Diary. Mr. *Norris* told him, it was possible the *Indians* might have misunderstood him, and desired him to produce his Diary ; but *Croghan* refused that, and said he would shew it to the Governors at a convenient Time, and that it should be read in public before the Conference broke up. On this one of the *Indians* observed, that it would be easy for him to go Home and write down what he pleased, and afterwards pretend he had done it before ; that the best Way was to shew it now, and then it might have some Credit paid to it. This he was pressed to do,

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in Vindication of himself, and to avoid Suspicion. But he persisted in refusing; for a Reason, I suppose, you will think too obvious to mention, and went away in a Passion.

It is evident from the Countenance and Favour *Croghan* meets with that he does not act of himself, in these his Endeavours to embroil Affairs among the *Indians*.

On *Friday, October 13*, a Conference was held, at which the Governors spoke, and the *Allegheny* Letter was read. At the Close of the Conference, one *Nichos* a *Mohawk* made a Speech, which at *Con. Wieser's* particular Request was not then interpreted in public. The Substance of the Speech, we were soon after informed, was to disclaim *Teedyuscung's* Authority. This *Nichos* is *G. Croghan's* Father-in-Law, and him 'tis thought *Croghan* now makes use of to raise Disturbance among the *Indians*, as he found himself baffled in his other Scheme. He could not prejudice *Teedyuscung* and set him against the People of the Province; he therefore now labours to set the *Indians* against him by the same Methods, I suppose, that he attempted the former.

On *Sunday, October 15*, there was a private Conference at *Scull's* but neither *Teedyuscung* nor any of his People were there. Next Day a Conference was held in public, at which were read the Minutes of what had passed: When they came to what was said Yesterday they stopped; but at the Request of the Six Nation Chiefs it was read. What concern'd *Teedyuscung* there, seemed little more than whether he should be considered as a King or an Emperor. They did not deny his Power over his own Nations, and he never claimed (except in his Cups, if then) any Authority over the *Six Nations*; nay, as the Governor observed, he expressly declared they were his Superiors, and that tho' he acted as Head for his own four Tribes, he acted only as a Messenger from his Uncle.

On *Wednesday, October 8th*, when the *Six Nation Indians* come to return an Answer, they gave us a Specimen

cimen of their *Finesse* in Politics. We had been harassed with an *Indian* War; the Governor called upon them to declare the Causes of it. The Chiefs disclaimed all Concern in it, and declared that it was not done by the Advice or Consent of the Public Council of the Nations, tho' they frankly owned some of their young Men had been concerned in it. As Counsellors they would not undertake to assign the Causes of their Uneasiness, or what had induced them to strike the *English*, lest it should appear as if they had countenanced the War, or at least had not been at due Pains to prevent it. They therefore left the Warriors to speak for themselves. The Causes they assigned were the same that had been assigned before. Our Managers were very earnest to have the *Six Nations* Speaker say he spoke for the *Delawares*. However, *Teedyuscung* maintained his Independancy; and as soon as *Tomas King* sat down, he arose and said, that as his Uncles had done, he would speak in Behalf of his own People; and as his Uncles had mentioned several Causes of Uneasiness, he would now mention one in Behalf of the *Opines*, or *Wapings*, &c. This I find differently represented in the printed Treaty; but as there are several other Places liable to Objections, I shall, if I have Leisure, send you one with some Notes.

You see by *Tomas King's* Speech, that what was conjectured in the Enquiry relating to the Purchase of 1754, was not groundless, and that that Purchase was one main Cause of the War.

I find the same Effect may be attributed to different Causes; for the going away of the *Six Nation* Chiefs, which I, who was not so clear-sighted as to discover the great Dissatisfaction said to have been visible in the Countenances of the *Indians*, attributed to the Coldness of the Day and the Fatigue of long sitting, I find in the printed Treaty ascribed to their Aversion to *Teedyuscung* and Disapprobation of what he was saying.—The next Day the *Munseys*, dissatisfied with some Part of the *Six Nations* Conduct, demanded and received back the Belt by which they had put them-

selves and their Affairs under their Direction, and gave it to *Teedyuscung*. The Close of the Conference on *Friday, October 20th*, was nothing but Confusion. After the Governor had done, *Nichos* the *Mohawk* said the Governor left Things in the Dark ; that neither he nor any of the Chiefs knew what Lands he meant ; if he spoke of the Lands beyond the Mountains, they had already confessed their having sold them ; but the Governor had their Deeds, why were not these produced and shewn to their Cousins the *Delawares*? Here *C. Weiser* went and brought the Deed of 1749. *Nichos* acknowledged the Deed. It was shewn to *Teedyuscung* ; but he could not readily be made to understand why it was now brought, all Matters relating to Land being as he thought referred to the Determination of the King. Governor *Bernard* of the *Jerseys*, who had something to say, had several Times desired to be heard ; but the Affair of the Deed so engrossed the Attention of our Governor, his Council, and Interpreter, that no Regard was paid to what Governor *Bernard* desired. In short their Behaviour on the Occasion was so very unpolite, that many could not help blushing for them. And at the last, the producing the Deed raised such a Commotion among the *Indians*, that they broke up without giving Governor *Bernard* an Opportunity to speak a Word.

Next Day a private Conference was held with the Chiefs of the *Indians*. As our People have not thought fit to publish it, I shall give it to you as I had it from some who were present.

Teedyuscung taking out a String of white and black Wampum, told the Council and Commissioners (the Governor was not there) that he had made Enquiry concerning the Deed produced Yesterday, and was satisfied his Uncles had sold the Land describ'd therein ; he saw likewise that *Nutimus* the *Delaware* Chief had signed the Deed, and found upon Inquiry that he had received forty four Dollars, part of the Consideration-Money. This being the Case, he would make no

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Dispute about that Deed, but was ready to confirm it; for he wanted to be at Peace with his Brothers the *English*. But he observed, that his confirming that Deed would not affect the Claims he had formerly made; for the Lands he thought himself principally wronged in, lay between *Tobiccon* and the *Kittatinny* Hills. On this he gave a String. After he had delivered the String, *Tokabayo*, a *Cayuga* Chief, arose, and in a very warm Speech commended the Conduct of *Teedyuscung*, and at the same Time severely reprehended that of the *English*. He told *Teedyuscung*, ‘ That he himself and the other Chiefs were
 ‘ obliged to him for his Candour and Openness; that
 ‘ they plainly perceived he spoke from the Heart,
 ‘ in the same Manner they used to do in ancient
 ‘ Times, when they held Councils together. They
 ‘ wished they could say as much of the *English*; but
 ‘ it was plain the *English* either did not understand *Indian*
 ‘ Affairs, or else did not act and speak with that
 ‘ Sincerity and in the Manner they ought. When the
 ‘ *Indians* delivered Belts, they were large and long;
 ‘ but when the *English* returned an Answer or spoke,
 ‘ they did it on small Belts and trifling little Strings*.
 ‘ And yet the *English* made the Wampum, whereas
 ‘ the *Indians* were obliged to buy it. But the Reason
 ‘ was, the *Indians* spoke from the Heart, the *English*
 ‘ only from the Mouth. Besides, how little the *English*
 ‘ attended to what was said appeared from this,
 ‘ that several of the Belts and Strings they (the *Indians*)
 ‘ had given them, were lost.’ [That is *unanswered*; for you’ll please to observe no Answer was
 returned to the Complaints the *Indians* made respecting *Carolina*, the *Ohio* Affair, or the *Opines*.] ‘ If the
 ‘ *English* knew no better how to manage *Indian* Affairs,
 ‘ they should not call them together. Here
 ‘ they had invited them down to brighten the Chain

* Among the *Indians* the Size of the Belts they give with their Speeches, is always in Proportion to their Ideas of the greater or less Importance of the Matters treated of.

‘ of Peace, but instead of that, had spent a Fort-
 ‘ night wrangling and disputing about Lands. What
 ‘ must the People of *Allegheny* think of this Con-
 ‘ duct when they are informed of it by their Mes-
 ‘ sengers?’

On *Tuesday* a public Entertainment was given to the *Indians*, and in the Evening the Chiefs were called together by *R. Peters* and *C. Weiser*. Hitherto the *Indians*, tho’ several Times pressed to it, had deferred giving an Answer to the Proposal made on Behalf of the Proprietors to release back to the *Indians* the Lands of the Purchase of 1754, West of the *Allegheny* Mountains, provided the *Indians* would confirm to them the Residue of that Purchase. But the Deeds being drawn up agreeable to what the Proprietors proposed, it now remained to persuade the *Indians* to sign them as drawn. And To-night ’tis said that is done. I wish this may not be a Foundation of fresh Uneasiness. In public Council they declared they would confirm no more of that Land than what was settled in the Year 1754, for which *only* they had received the Consideration; but all the rest they reclaimed. Yet now by the Deed as drawn, ten Times, nay I may say twenty Times as much Land is conveyed as was then settled. For the *English* Settlements in 1754 extended but a little Way up the *Juniata* and *Sherman’s* Creek, whereas the present Grant reaches to the *Allegheny* Mountains. May not the Warriors to whom the Lands have been given for hunting Grounds disapprove this Grant as they did before, and maintain their Right by Force of Arms? I wish this Fear may be groundless. Besides, I could have wished that another Time than the *Close of an Entertainment* had been chosen for executing the Deeds, considering the *Indians’* Fondness for Liquor.

But I have already too much transgressed upon your Patience; I shall therefore only add that *I am, &c.*

*Extract of a Letter from one of the Friendly Association
in Philadelphia, dated December 11, 1758.*

At the late Treaty *Teedyuscung* confirmed the Purchase of 1749 *; his Motives for this Confirmation, were to engage the *Six Nations* to confirm the *Wyoming* Lands to him and his People; but such Measures were pursued, by our proprietary Managers, to prevent it, and to set the *Indians* at variance with each other, that all our Arguments, Persuasions and Presents were scarce sufficient to keep them from an open Rupture.

The Business was shamefully delayed from Day to Day, which the Minutes are calculated to screen; but it is well known to us who attended, that the Time was spent in attempting *Teedyuscung's* Downfal, and silencing or contradicting the Complaints he had made; but he is really more of a Politician than any of his Opponents, whether in or out of our proprietary Council; and if he could be kept sober, might probably soon become Emperor of all the neighbouring Nations.

His old Secretary not being present, when the Treaty began, he did not demand the Right of having one, and thought it unnecessary, as he was determined rather to be a Spectator than active in public Business, so that we are imposed on in some Minutes of Consequence.

General *Forbes's* proceeding with so much Caution has furnished Occasion for many imprudent Reflections; but I believe he pursued the only Method, in which he could have succeeded. Whether he is a Soldier or not I cannot judge, nor is it my Business; but I am certain he is a considerate understanding Man; and it is a Happiness to these Provinces, that he prudently determined from the Entrance on the Command here, to make use of every rational Method of conciliating the Friendship of the *Indians*, and drawing them off

* This was a Purchase made by the Proprietors from the *Six Nations*, of Lands claimed by the *Delawares*.

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from the *French*; so that since we had his Countenance and Directions, our pacific Negotiations have been carried on with some Spirit, and have had the desired Effect.

The Express left the General at *Fort Duquesne* (now *Pitt's-burgh*) on the 30th ult. and says he would stay to meet the *Indians*, of whom he expected five hundred in a Day or two, having heard they were near him on the other Side the River. He will, no doubt, provide for divers Matters shamefully neglected at *Easton*, where our proprietary Agents wisely releas'd to the *Indians* all the Lands westward of the Mountains, without so much as stipulating for the keeping a trading House in any Part of that extensive Country.

This Neglect is now much noticed; and as we are assur'd there will be a great Want of Goods there this Winter, I am fitting out two Waggons with about 5 or 600 l. worth of Strouds, Blankets, Match-coats, &c. which shall be sent to the General either to be sold or given away in such Manner, as may most effectually promote the public Interest: The Weather being pleasant and mild, and the Roads good, I am in hopes they will be conveyed to *Ray's-Town* in a few Days. Our *Friendly Association* have, out of their Fund, expended upwards of 2000 l. but the Cost of these Goods must be paid (if they are given away) out of the Contributions of the *Menonists* and *Swengfelders*, who put about 1500 l. into my Hands for these Purposes.

I am, &c.



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